



Class D 59

Book H 44

HISTORY

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OF THE

STATES OF ANTIQUITY,

FROM THE GERMAN OF

A. H. L. HEEREN,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN GOTTINGEN AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL

FRENCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS.

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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS...TO WIT :

DISTRICT CLERK'S OFFICE.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the first day of March, A. D. 1828, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, SIMEON BUTLER. of the said District, has deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit.

"History of the States of Antiquity, from the German of A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in Gottingen and Member of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also an act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

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it belongs. The calm narration of facts is not interrupted by expressions of extravagant admiration; and still less, by any partial and distorted statements. The whole is written in a liberal spirit. No fact is related, but after scrupulous investigation. Each separate portion of history is introduced by an account of the original sources, from which all knowledge of it must be derived, and, for the assistance of younger students who would apply themselves to historical studies, those modern works are cited, in which the materials, furnished by the ancients, are collected and used with the greatest judgment and learning. The few words which are annexed, as hints illustrating their character, cannot but be acceptable to the general student, as a guide in selecting works to consult, and as exhibiting the opinions of one, competent to discriminate. But on the merits of the work it is unnecessary to enlarge. If it is suited to our present wants, it will make its own way to those, who desire to see the study of history assume its proper place among the objects which reward pursuit. The editor hopes, that a manual, which has for many years been used with distinguished success in the best University on the European Continent, may find favor in the highest schools of learning in the United States, and promote the scientific study of a branch of human knowledge, of which the importance is daily making itself more generally felt.

A History of the States of Modern Europe and its Colonies in their mutual relations, from the discovery of America to the Emancipation of the American Continent, by the same author, will be published during the summer of the present year.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Round Hill, Northampton, Feb. 27, 1828.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. The *sources* of ancient history are in part the ancient writers ; in part other still existing monuments. The former will be cited at their proper places in the several chapters. A general view of the ancient monuments, considered as sources of history, is given in :

Oberlin *Orbis antiqui monumentis suis illustrati primae lineae*. Argentorati 1790.

II. Among General Works on Ancient History we distinguish, 1. *Larger Works*. Some of these constitute parts of Universal History. To this class belong :

The Translation into German of the Universal History, published in England by a society of men of letters. With notes by Siegm. Jac. Baumgarten. This is known by the name of die Hallische allgemeine Welt-geschichte. Halle 1746. ff. 4to. The first 18 parts contain Ancient History.

Universal History, from the creation to the present time. By William Guthrie, John Gray, and others. To ancient history belong the four first volumes, translated into German, and corrected by C. G. Heyne, who added notes and dates. The translation was published at Leipsic 1766. ff. 8vo. It is only through the labors of Heyne, that the work gained a value.

Ancient History has also been treated in works exclusively devoted to it. To this class belong :

Rollin Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Medes et des Perses, des Macedoniens, des Grecs. Of this work there exists a German translation, by M. Müller, 1798. [The English version is sufficiently known.] This work, by which the study of ancient history in France was much promoted, still retains its merited reputation. It is continued in the Hist. Romaine, which will be cited below.

Jac. Ben. Bossuet Discours sur l'histoire universelle. Paris, 1680. III vols. It has often been re-printed, and is considered in France a classic work. The German translation, by Cramer, is accompanied by original dissertations. Leipzig, 1748.

Elemens de l'histoire générale par l'Abbé Millot; Paris, 1772. sq. [Of this there exists an English translation.] The German of Christiani was published 1777, in 9 vols. 8vo. The two first parts contain Ancient History.

Joh. Matth. Schroeckh allgemeine Weltgeschichte für Kinder. Leipz. 1779. 6 B. (Universal History for Children.)

Geschichte der alten Welt von J. G. Eichhorn. 1799. third edition 1817. This is the first part of Eichhorn's Universal History.

Handbuch der allgemeinen Völkergeschichte alter Zeiten; von Anfang der Staaten bis zu Ende der Römischen Republik von M. Dan. G. J. Hübler. Freyberg. 1798 — 1802. 5 Th. A continuation of this work is: Geschichte der Römer unter den Imperatoren, wie auch der gleichzeitigen Völker bis zur grossen Völkerwanderung. 1803. 3 Th. This history is of value from the judicious manner, in which all subsidiary works are made use of.

Allgemeine Geschichte der Völker und Staaten von H. Luden. 3d edition. 1824. 1825. and Allgemeine Politische Geschichte von L. v. Dresch. 1815. 3 Th. Of these two works the first volume in each contains Ancient History and gives the recent views on that subject.

Works, illustrating the civil culture, the constitution, and the commerce of the ancient nations, though they are not strictly treatises of Ancient History, yet stand in the most intimate connection with it. To this class belong :

Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt, von A. H. L. Heeren. Third edition. 1815—1821. The first part in two divisions contains the Asiatic nations : First division : Introduction. Persians. Second division : Phoenicians, Babylonians, Scythians, Indians. Second Part. African nations. First division : Carthaginians, Aethiopians. Second division : Egyptians. Third part. First division : Grecians. [Of this last division, a translation into English was published at Boston in 1824, under the title, *Politics of Ancient Greece*.]

2. The merit of having produced useful, and in part excellent manuals of ancient history, (a consequence of the public lectures delivered on this science at the universities) belongs peculiarly to the Germans. Among them we designate :

J. Chr. Gatterer Versuch einer allgemeinen Weltgeschichte bis zur Entdeckung Amerikas. Göttingen. 1792. The earlier manuals of this author are not needed by one possessed of this latest and most mature fruit of his studies.

Kurzgefasste Anleitung zur Kenntniss der allgemeinen Welt-und Völkergeschichte von Chr. Dan. Beck. Leipzig. 1798. The first volume extends to A. D. 843. This is provided with such a copious account of all the books relating to ancient history, that it may supply the place of a separate work on the subject.

J. A. Remer Handbuch der ältern Geschichte von der Schöpfung der Welt bis auf die grosse Völkerwanderung. Fourth edition. Braunschweig. 1802.

J. M. Schröckh Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Weltgeschichte. 1774. Later edition. 1795.

G. S. Bredow Handbuch der alten Geschichte nebst einem Entwürfe der Weltkunde der Alten. Altona. 1799. 8vo.

3. Among works subsidiary to the study of ancient history Synchronical Tables and Charts deserve a distinguished place. Instead of those of Schrader and Berger formerly in use, the best are at present :

D. G. J. Hübler's *synchronistische Tabellen der Völkergeschichte* ; hauptsächlich nach Gatterer's *Weltgeschichte*. In zwei Lieferungen. The second edition in 1799 & 1804.

1. Political history treats of the fortunes of states in their internal as well as in their external relations. Of their internal relations the history of their constitutions forms a principal part ; as to their external relations, history gives an account not of their wars only, but also of their amicable relations and friendly intercourse with other states.

Political history or the history of states, is a subdivision of the general history of the human race. The history of culture, or of humanity, investigates the history of men, as men, without further reference to political relations.

2. Political history is generally divided into three parts ; ancient, of the middle ages, modern ; of which the first extends to the downfall of the western Roman Empire, about the end of the fourth century ; the second to the discovery of America and of the passage by sea to the East Indies, or the end of the fifteenth century ; the third from that period to the present time.

This division is derived from events which constitute political epochs. It is from this reason apparent, why the division in history before and after the birth of Christ is not judicious.

3. Political history, according to the idea which we have given of it, commences with the appearance of states. All that we know of the previous condition of our race, from the traditions of individual men or of tribes, of their migrations, relationship and inventions, does not belong here, but to the general history of nations.

It is known, that, in the sacred writings of the Hebrews, a great deal of information has been preserved respecting the earliest condition of the human race, and it was usual to form of this a particular division in history, under the name of *Historia antediluviana*. From what has been said above, it is obvious why this is here omitted, although these traditions are of the greatest value for the earliest history of the tribes and of the culture of mankind.

4. The sources of History are in general of two classes, oral tradition, and written accounts of every kind. The history of every nation usually begins with oral tradition, and this remains the only source, so long as letters are either entirely unknown to the people, or very little used.

5. The whole collection of oral traditions, which have been preserved in a nation, are comprised under the name of traditional history, or mythology; and such a mythology is to be found in every nation in its earliest period. It includes, however, not merely notices, that properly belong to history, but rather all those, which in so early a period seem important to a people, and of which it is willing to preserve and continue the knowledge.

The mythology of a nation, therefore, is always composed of very different elements; for beside historic notices of various kinds it contains the prevalent ideas respecting the

Gods and their services ; as also the observations and experience of the nation in astronomy, morals, and the arts. All these usually appear in the attire of history ; for man, not yet exercised in abstract thought, must necessarily represent every thing to himself by images. As vain and narrow, therefore, as are the attempts of all those, who believe they can find in the mythology of a people a connected whole, or a scientific system of any kind whatever, it is on the other hand equally difficult to separate that which is purely historical from that which is not historical. Much critical judgment and knowledge of antiquity are, therefore, required in employing mythology for the purposes of history.

These just ideas on mythology, the key to the whole earlier antiquity, were first developed and put in circulation by Heyne, in his edition of Virgil and of other poets, as well as in the edition of the library of Apollonius and in several dissertations for the Gottingen society of the sciences. To these it is especially to be ascribed, that the Germans have so far preceded other nations in the just mode of pursuing the study of antiquity.

6. The want of letters is commonly in such nations supplied by poetry, which, as it is in its origin nothing else but the expression of images by words, must naturally spring up among men who are still accustomed to represent to themselves every thing under the veil of images. The subject of poetry with every people, is nothing and can be nothing but its mythology ; and as the component parts of this are so different, there naturally arose out of it, thus early, the various kinds of poetry, as the Lyric, the Didactic, and the Epic ; which last, in as far as it includes the historic song and the Epopee, deserves in an especial manner the attention of the historian.

The fables were, in later times, often collected out of the works of the Poets, and committed to writing by grammarians, as Apollodorus and others. On their original character, this can of course exercise no influence.

7. The second, incomparably richer and more important source of history is in the written monuments of every kind. They can be divided according to the time in which they originated into three classes: 1. Inscriptions on public monuments, to which class coins in later ages belong; 2. The chronological record of events in chronicles, annals; 3. Philosophic histories in the proper sense of the word.

8. The most ancient written memorials are undoubtedly inscriptions on public monuments which were raised in commemoration of certain events, even though nothing but a single stone or even a natural rock may have been taken advantage of for the purpose. Art soon formed these into columns, obelisks, and pyramids, as the taste of the nation received a definite tendency from local relations, and as architecture arose among them and formed for itself a peculiar style. Necessity must have soon led to the idea of furnishing them with inscriptions, containing some account of the events, of which they were designed to perpetuate the memory; and several of the most ancient, especially of the Egyptian monuments, are unquestionably of this kind. But the custom of adding inscriptions continued among the later nations, especially among the Greeks and Romans, much more common than it is among the moderns, although out of the great multitude of their inscrip-

tions, which are still extant, only a proportionably small part are of any value for history.

The character of which use was made, was either emblematic (Hieroglyphics), or the alphabet. The invention of the alphabet, as well as its introduction, is generally ascribed to the Phenicians ; it seems, however, to judge from the form of the arrow headed letters, to have been also made independent of them, in inner Asia.

The following are general collections of inscriptions :

Lud. Ant. Muratori novus thesaurus veterum Inscriptionum. Mediolani. 1739 sq. 4 fol. with Seb. Donati supplementa. Luccae. 1764.

Jan. Gruteri Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani, cura J. G. Graevii. Amstel. 1707. 2 vols. fol.

Of the single inscriptions particular importance for general history is attached to the Parian Chronicle or Oxford Marbles (Marmora Oxoniensia, Arundeliana), published by Selden 1629. Prideaux 1676. The best edition by Rich. Chandler. Oxf. 1763. fol. A useful manual edition is that of Wagner, in Greek, with a translation into German, and notes, published at Gottingen, 1790. 8 vo.

9. Coins can likewise be regarded as a source for ancient history, especially in so far as they throw light on Genealogy and Chronology ; by means of which events already known may be better arranged. They are, therefore, particularly important in those branches of history, of which from the loss of the writers we have only fragmentary accounts.

Ez. Spanhemii dissertatio de usu et praestantia numismatum. Londin. 1707 et 1709. 2 fol. But the chief work on the whole subject of ancient coins is at present :

Eckhel de doctrina nummorum veterum. Viennae. 1792 1798. 8 vol. 4to. An abridgment of this work in German was published at Vienna, 1787. 8 vo.

A useful auxiliary is J. C. Rasche *Lexicon universae rei nummariae veterum*. 1785. sq. 5 vols. 8 vo.

10. Chronicles or Annals form the second leading class of historic monuments. They presuppose the invention of letters and the use of proper materials for writing, and are therefore, without doubt, of more recent origin, than mere inscriptions. Still they belong to the earlier period of nations, and such annals, or chronicles of the state, composed under public authority, usually supplied subsequent historians with the materials for their works. Among many nations, as, for example, among all the Eastern, the historic art never advanced beyond such chronicles.

11. The third leading class of historic writings is composed of works of philosophic history, which are distinguished from mere annals, in as much as they contain not merely a chronological enumeration of separate events, but also give a development of the connection of those events.

But few nations in modern times, and in ancient, as far as we know, only the Greeks and Romans, have possessed philosophical histories. The cause of this lies 1. in the Constitution. The more every thing is given up to the mere will and caprice, be it of one or of several, the more all rational connection of events disappears. Philosophical history, therefore, flourishes best under free constitutions; and no traces of it are to be found under purely despotic governments. 2. Another reason may be found in the degree of the culture of the people, for to trace and perceive this internal connection of events, presupposes a considerable degree of philosophical culture.

12. As all events are fixed by the place where, and the time when they happened, it follows that, for history generally, and for ancient history in particular, geography and chronology are two indispensable subsidiary sciences ; yet not in their whole extent and in all their details, but only in so far as they contribute to the order and arrangement of events according to the succession of time and to place. A fixed chronology, therefore, is in ancient history of not less necessity, than a continuing geographical description of the countries, which are the theatre of the leading events.

13. There was in antiquity no general epoch, but each nation and each state had its own era. And yet in treating of general history we have need of a general era, the better to gain a view of contemporaneous events. To this purpose we can reckon time according to the years of the world, or according to years before and after the birth of Christ. But the latter has decidedly an advantage over the former, not only from its greater certainty, but also from its greater convenience.

Among the several modes of reckoning time, the most known are the Greek according to Olympiads, and the Roman according to the years from the building of their city. The former begins with the year 776 before Christ, the latter with the year 753 according to Varo, or 752 according to Cato. The era Seleucidarum in the Syrian empire begins with the year 312 before Christ. Other eras, as the era Nabonnassar's, beginning 747 before Christ, and others are founded upon the accounts and observations which Ptolemaeus has preserved for us and Jos. Scaliger has made known in his *Doctrina Temporum*.

Chronology forms a science by itself. The best introduction to it is given in :

J. C. Gatterer *Abriss der Chronologie*. Göttingen. 1777. An excellent piece of criticism on the ancient eras has recently appeared in :

L. Ideler *historische Untersuchungen über die astronomischen Beobachtungen der Alten*. Berlin. 1806.

Einleitung in die historische Chronologie von D. H. Hegewisch. 1811. Very convenient for common use.

14. In the study of ancient Geography a careful distinction must be made between fabulous and true geography. Of the latter, as a science subsidiary to history, we are to expect general information, partly respecting the physical character and remarkable peculiarities of the country, partly respecting their political divisions, and partly respecting the chief cities, but by no means long lists of the names of places.

Fabulous geography constitutes a part of the mythology of every nation, and differs, therefore, in each according to the earlier ideas adopted respecting the form and nature of the earth.—True geography assumes its shape but slowly, as advances in culture are made, and as the circle of observation is enlarged.—The subject must necessarily be treated historically, from the various changes, to which the division and forms of the countries of the ancient world were at different periods subjected.

Christoph. Cellarii *Notitia orbis antiqui*. Lips. 1701 — 1706. 2 vols. 4 to. cum observat. J. C. Schwarzii. Lips. 1771. et iterum 1773. This for a long time was the sole, and still continues to be an indispensable work on ancient Geography.

Geographie der Griechen und Römer von R. Mannert. Nürnberg. 1787—1802. 7 Th. 8 vo. To complete this

work, which is to be esteemed classic, for the historical criticism displayed in it, Greece, Italy, and Africa are yet wanting.

Geographie der Griechen und Römer von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf Ptolemaeus; bearbeitet von Fr. Aug. Ukert. Weimar, 1816, with maps. The first division of the first part contains the historical, the second the mathematical division.

Gosselin *Geographie des Grecs analysée*. Paris. 1790. 4 to. This is an explanation of the systems of the mathematical Geography of the Greeks; and is in part continued in:

Gosselin *Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens*. Paris. An. VI. vol. 1—4.

Geographical system of Herodotus by J. Rennel. London. 1800. 4 to. The two last works have been abridged in the German language, and accompanied with notes in:

Untersuchungen über einzelne Gegenstände der alten Geschichte, Geographie und chronologie von G. G. Bredow. Altona. 1800. Zweites Stück.

For the best maps for ancient Geography we are indebted to Danville in:

Atlas orbis antiqui, 12 sheets fol. At Nuremburg there has been an excellent copy of the engravings, published in the same form by Schneider & Weigel. 1781. f. To this we add:

Danville's *Handbuch der alten Erdbeschreibung*, Danville's *Manual of ancient Geography*, a new edition in German by Hummel, Bruns, Stroth, Heeren, and others. A good concise sketch of ancient Geography in a single volume is a want, not yet supplied.

15. Ancient History may be treated either ethnographically, that is, according to the different nations and states, or synchronically, that is, according to certain general periods of time. Each

method has its advantages and disadvantages ; both may however, to a certain extent, be united, and this method is the best adapted to our purpose. We therefore establish the following division :

First Division. The history of the ancient Asiatic and ancient African states and empires before Cyrus, or from the origin of the Persian monarchy about the year of Christ 560. Hardly any thing more than separate fragments.

Second Division. History of the Persian monarchy from 560 to 330 before Christ.

Third Division. History of the Grecian states as well within as without Greece, till the time of Alexander or 330 before Christ.

Fourth Division. History of the Macedonian monarchy and of the empires, which arose from its division, down to the time when they were conquered by the Romans.

Fifth Division. History of the Roman state, not only as a republic but also as a monarchy, to the period of its fall in the west, in the year 476 after Christ.

FIRST DIVISION.

Fragments of the history of the earlier Asiatic and African Empires and States before Cyrus, or the beginning of the Persian monarchy.

I. ASIATIC NATIONS.

GENERAL PRELIMINARY INFORMATION ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA.*

EXTENT AND SITUATION OF THIS CONTINENT.

1. Asia is in its extent the largest continent, and in its situation the most favored by nature. Its square contents amount to 14,000,000 miles, while that of Africa amounts only to 11,000,000 miles, and that of Europe only to 3,300,000 miles. From its situation it fills the largest part of the northern temperate zone.

In comparison with other countries it has advantages, and especially over Africa. These advantages consist in the character of its broken shore—the fruitful islands which lie around it—its numerous gulfs that enter far into the land—its large rivers, and its few deserts in the interior.

2. Its physical character deserves consideration. Its divisions, depending on the course of its large chains of mountains and its principal streams.

* Compare the Introduction to Heeren's *Ideen über die Politik und den Handel der alten Völker* B. 1. S. 54 f.

There are two principal chains of mountains extending from west to east. In the north the Altai which in antiquity was still without a name ; in the south the Taurus. Branches of both, are the Caucasus between the Black and Caspian seas ; the Imaus along the golden desert (the desert Cobi) ; the Paropamisus on the northern side of India ; the Ural, in antiquity still without a name. Of the chief rivers, which are worthy of remark for ancient history, four flowed from north to south ; the Euphrates and Tigris into the Persian Gulf, the Indus and Ganges into the Indian sea ; two flow from east to west into the Caspian sea (but now into the Aral sea), the Oxus (now Gihon) and the Jaxartes (Sirr).

3. Asia may therefore be divided into north Asia, the country north of the Altai ; middle Asia, the country between the Altai and the Taurus ; southern Asia, the country south of the Taurus.

4. Northern Asia lies between 76° and 50° of latitude (Asiatic Russia, Siberia). This in antiquity was very little known, yet not entirely unknown. Dark but true traditions of it may be found in the father of history, Herodotus.

5. Middle Asia, the country between 50° and 40° north latitude, comprehending Scythia and Sarmatia Asiatica (the great Tartary and Mongolia), is almost one immeasurable unproductive prairie, without agriculture and forests, and therefore a mere pasture land. The inhabitants, leading pastoral lives (Nomades), are without cities and fixed places of abode, and therefore instead of political union have merely the constitution of tribes.

The peculiarity of the mode of living and the character of the Nomadic nations deserves attention, especially for the

great influence, which they, as conquerors, have exercised over political history.

Can we conceive as possible a constant advance in culture of the human race collectively, when we see that perhaps one half of the same has from time immemorial remained in the Nomadic state, and, from the nature of the countries which they occupy, must remain so forever ?

6. South Asia, comprising the lands from 40° north latitude to near the equator, is entirely different in its character from the countries of Middle Asia ; it is both in soil and climate possessed of advantages for agriculture, and in comparison with the other countries of the earth, it is rich in the costliest and most various products. Therefore we observe here—*a.* Transition to fixed places of abode and bonds of political union in the earliest times. *b.* The emporium of the grand commerce of the world in like manner from the earliest times to the discovery of America.

What is the origin of political associations ? Are agriculture and the possession of landed property alone sufficient, according to the usual theory on the subject, to originate and to preserve them ? Was not religion, that is the common worship of a deity as a national divinity (*communia sacra*), the proper bond which held the earliest states together ? From this we may interpret the phenomenon, that in the earliest states of the world a cast of priests usually appears as the ruling class. The early commerce of the world, especially of the east, deserves consideration ; before the discovery of America and the passage to the East Indies by sea, changed it from commerce by land to commerce by sea. Its former course was through Asia ; the natural places of depot were in the interior on the banks of large rivers ; on the Oxus, Bactra and Sogdiana (*Samar-cand*) ; on the Euphrates and Tigris, Babylon. The nat-

ural places of depot on the coast were the western coast of Asia Minor and Phenicia, where arose the series of Grecian and Phenician commercial cities.

7. Division of the countries of South Asia. *a.* Western South Asia extending from the Mediterranean to the Indus. *b.* Eastern South Asia from the Indus to the Eastern Ocean.

A. Western South Asia is divided again into the countries—1. this side the Euphrates—2. between the Euphrates and Tigris—3. between the Tigris and the Indus.

1. COUNTRIES THIS SIDE THE EUPHRATES.

a. The peninsula of Asia Minor (Natolia). The chief rivers, Halys and Sangarius. Countries: Three on the west side, Mysia, Lydia, Caria. Along the coast, the Greek maritime cities, Phocaea, Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna, Halicarnassus, &c. In the interior the cities of Sardis in Lydia, and Pergamus in Mysia.

Three on the South side: Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia, with the chief city Tarsus.

Three on the North side: Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus; with the Greek maritime cities Heraclea, Amisus and Sinope.

Two in the centré: Phrygia together with Galatia, with the chief cities Gordium and Celaenae, and Cappadocia with the city Mazaca.

b. Islands along the coast of Asia Minor. Lesbos with the city Mitylene. Chios, Samos, Cos, Rhodes, with cities of the same name.

c. Syria with Phenicia and Palestine. 1. Syria proper. Cities: Damascus, Emesa, Heliopolis.

(Baalbeck). In the desert, Palmyra. 2. Phenicia. A mountainous land on the coast. Mountains: the Libanus and Antilibanus. Cities: Tyre on an Island, opposite ancient Tyre on the continent. Sidon, Byblus, Berytus, Tripolis, Aradus. 3. Palestine. Mountains: Carmel, Tabor. River: Jordan, which empties into the Dead Sea. Division originally into 12 Tribes; afterwards into the districts, Judea, with the chief city Jerusalem; Samaria, with the cities Samaria and Sichem, and Galilee.

d. The peninsula Arabia. Full of monstrous deserts, and inhabited almost exclusively by nomadic nations. But its Southern and Eastern coasts give it a great importance in a commercial point of view. In the North, Arabia Petraea, from the place Petra. In the centre, the Arabian desert. In the South, Arabia felix; rich, by means of its own native products, among which are the various kinds of incense, especially frankincense; and as the most ancient place of depot for India wares. Cities: Mariaba, Aden, &c. On the East side the commercial city Gerra, and the opposite islands Tylus and Aradus (Bahhrein Islands), likewise the staples as well of Arabian as of India wares, especially of the cinnamon from Taprobane (Ceylon).

2. LANDS BETWEEN THE EUPHRATES AND THE TIGRIS.

a. Mesopotamia. In the interior a dry plateau, inhabited by none but hordes of nomades. Cities on the Euphrates: Thapsacus, Circesium, Cunaxa. In the North Zoba or Nisibis.

b. Armenia, to the North, above the preceding. Full of mountains : for a long time without cities, at a late period it had Tigranocerta. Rivers : Cyrus and Araxes, which flow into the Caspian Sea, and the Phasis, which goes into the Black Sea.

c. Babylonia, the Southern part of Mesopotamia, divided from it by the Median wall. A plain with a rich soil ; at one period by its careful culture, by the formation of canals, dams, and lakes, the most fruitful, and by its situation the richest commercial country in the interior of Asia. Cities : Babylon on the Euphrates, Borsippa.

Are the accounts of the extent and splendor of Babylon, given by the eye-witness Herodotus, exaggerated ?—The large Asiatic cities had their origin in the royal encampments of the conquering nomadic nations.

3. LANDS* BETWEEN THE TIGRIS AND INDUS.

a. Assyria or the district *Adiabene*, an extensive plateau. Cities : Nineveh (Ninus), Arbela.

The name Assyria is often used by the Greeks in a wider signification, and then it embraces both Mesopotamia and Babylonia ; it is even sometimes put for the name Syria.

b. Susiana, a fruitful country, with the city Susa on the river Choaspes or Eulaeus (Ulai), one of the residences of the Persian kings.

c. Persis, in the North rough and mountainous, in the middle a fruitful plain, in the South sandy. Rivers : Cyrus and Araxes. Cities : Persepolis or Pasargada, where was the national palace, as also the burying-place of the kings of Persia.

The name Persis is used in antiquity as in modern geography in a wider sense, and then embraces all the countries between the Tigris and the Indus, excepting Assyria. In

this case it comprises three Southern districts, Persis, properly so called, Carmania, Gedrosia ; three central, Media, Aria, Arachosia, and three Northern, Parthia with Hyrcania, Bactria, Sogdiana.

d. Carmania, a large, for the most part desolate land, along the Persian gulf and the Indian sea. Cities : Carmana, Harmozia.

e. Gedrosia, the district on the coast between Carmania and India. Along the Indian sea it is a desert of sand ; in the North mountainous. Town : Pura.

f. Media, above Persis. An extensive, very fruitful, and, in the North, mountainous district. Rivers : Araxes, Cyrus, and Mardus. Cities : Ecbatana, Rages. The Northern part is also called Atropatene (Aderbitschan) or Media Minor.

g. Aria. A plain, with a lake and river Arius ; and a city Aria or Artacoana.

h. Arachosia ; a rich and fruitful country on the boundary of India ; bounded on the North by the mountain Paropamisus. Cities : Arachotus and Prophthasia. The neighboring, thickly peopled, mountainous countries, (at present Cabul and Candahar), although they properly belong to India, yet, as they were so often subjected to the Persian rule, were often distinguished by the name of Paropamisus, and considered as forming a part of Persia.

i. Parthia and Hyrcania, rough mountain districts, northerly from Media, but full of noble and fruitful vallies. Before and during the Persian supremacy they were little known and esteemed, and were without cities. It was at a late pe-

riod that the inhabitants of Parthia came in their turn to possess a rule, widely extended through the world.

k. Bactria, the country on the South bank of the Oxus. It is rich in its natural products, and is one of the oldest commercial countries of Asia. River: Oxus. Cities: Bactra and Zariaspa.

Bactria on the boundary of India, the lesser Thibet, and Little Bucharia, (the Northern India of Herodotus and Ctesias) and the desert Cobi (the desert abounding in gold of Herodotus), through which the road to China passes, is by its geographical situation naturally destined to be one of the first staples of the wares of Southern Asia; and appears, the farther we extend our researches in history, to have been as Babylon one of the first principal places of the intercourse between nations, and in consequence of dawning culture.

l. Sogdiana, the country between the upper Oxus and the upper Jaxartes, which divides it from Middle Asia. (A part of the great Bucharia). It resembles in character and advantages the neighboring Bactria. Chief city: Marakanda (Samar-cand).

B. The Eastern part of South Asia, or Asia beyond the Indus, does not become remarkable in history till a later period. See below in the Fifth Division.

General Preliminary Information on the History and Constitution of the Great Asiatic Empires.

1. Asia from the first as at present contained in its interior empires of immense extent, by which they are distinguished from those of cultivated Europe as well as by their constitution. They often underwent revolutions, but their form remained the same. For this causes must have existed, lying deep and of wide influence, and which, notwithstanding these frequent revolutions, still continued to operate and always gave to the new empires of Asia the organization of the old ones.

2. The great revolutions of Asia (with the exception of that of Alexander) were occasioned by the numerous and powerful nomadic nations, which occupied a great part of that continent. Compelled by accident or necessity, they left their places of abode, and founded new empires, while they passed through and subjected the fruitful and cultivated countries of Southern Asia, until unruled by luxury and effeminacy, consequent on the change in their habits of life, they in their turn were in a like manner subjected.

3. From this common origin may be explained in part the great extent, in part the rapid rise and the usually short continuance of these empires.

4. The developement of their internal form of government, must for the same reason have had great resemblance; and the constant reappearance of despotism in them is to be explained

partly from the rights of conquerors, partly from their great extent, which rendered a government of Satraps necessary.

5. To this we must add, that the custom of polygamy, prevailing among all the great nations of inner Asia, ruined the mutual relations and obligations of domestic life, and thus rendered a good constitution impossible. For a domestic tyrant is formed instead of a father of a family, and despotism at once gains its foundation in private life.

It is necessary, if we would avoid playing with words, to fix the idea of despotism and despotic governments. We must in theory distinguish three essentially different kinds of government, the Despotic in which the members of the state possess a guarantee neither for the possession of their rights as men (personal liberty and the security of property), nor of their rights as citizens (active participation in the legislative power). Such a constitution exists only from compulsion, but can never become sanctioned by law. 2. The Autocratic, in which the members are in full possession of their rights as men, but not of their rights as citizens. It arises from the union of the legislative and the executive authority in the person of the ruler. It is in its form either monarchical or aristocratic. (Pure monarchy, pure aristocracy). Such a constitution can arise indeed by usurpation, but also by prescription, or even by free agreement, and may therefore be lawful. 3. The Republican, in which the members of the state are possessed of their rights as men and as citizens. It presupposes the division of the legislative and executive authority, and can likewise in its form be monarchical or aristocratic. (Limited monarchy and aristocracy). How far can pure democracy be called a government, and be classed among the former? The government in the empires of Asia was despotic, though attempts were made to limit it, by religion and religious legislation.

6. General steps in the gradual progress of all empires, founded by conquering Nomades. *a.* First, the mere occupation of rich countries and the collection of tribute. *b.* Hence the usual continuance of existing governments among the conquered or tributary nations. *c.* General transition from fixed places of abode, and the building of cities, together with the adoption of the customs and culture of the conquered. *d.* The division into provinces and the government of Satraps founded upon it. *e.* Revolts of the Satraps and the internal downfall thus prepared. *f.* As also not less by the luxury and the indolence of the rulers, necessarily arising in governments administered from the Seraglio. *g.* And therefore the downfall or complete ruin of the empires on a powerful shock from abroad.

Fragments of the History of the Ancient Asiatic Empires before Cyrus.

Sources of the same and their value: 1. Jewish writings, especially the books of the Kings, the Chronicles, and the Prophets, together with the Mosaic accounts. 2. Grecian Historians, Herodotus, Ctesias, and Diodorus; later Chroniclers, Syncellus, Eusebius, Ptolemaeus. 3. Domestic writer, Berosus. The attempt is a vain one to arrange in one connected sketch the accounts of writers, differing so much in their age and country. Yet this has been attempted by Sevin, Freret, and De Brosse in their dissertations in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

Recherches Nouvelles sur l'histoire ancienne (par M. de Volney, P. I. II. III. 1808—1814.) Very important and profound ; as far as it contains a view of the Chronology of Herodotus.

I. ASSYRIAN MONARCHY.

1. Among the Greeks *Assyrian* was the general name for the ruling nations on the Euphrates and Tigris before Cyrus. Among the Jews on the contrary, the term was limited to a particular conquering nation, and founders of an empire. Therefore a necessary difference exists between the Greek and the Hebrew accounts.

2. Assyrian history, according to Grecian sources, especially Ctesias and Diodorus, contains nothing more than mere traditions of ancient heroes and heroines, who in the countries on the Euphrates and the Tigris once founded large empires. The events are not chronologically ascertained ; but there are traditions in the Spirit of the East of Ninus—Semiramis—Ninyas—Sardanapalus.

According to Herodotus, an Assyrian empire lasted 520 years, from 1237—717. Catalogues of the Assyrian kings are found in Syncellus and Eusebius.

3. Assyrian History according to Jewish sources. Chronological history of an Assyrian empire between 300 and 700 before Christ.—The nation was established in Assyria, properly so called.—The chief city: Nineveh on the Tigris.—Their dominion was extended as far as Syria and Phenicia.

Series of the Assyrian kings : 1. Pful about 773. Syria was invaded. 2. Tiglat Pileser about 740. He overturns the kingdom of Damascus. 3. Salmanassar about 720. He

destroys the kingdom of Samaria. The inhabitants are transferred to inner Asia. 4. Sanherib about 714. Great preparations are made for an invasion of Egypt, which was defeated by a plague. 5. Assarhaddon.*

II. MEDIAN MONARCHY.

1. The Greeks often use the name *Mede* of a nation, but it is also often used as the general appellation of the ruling nations in the East of Asia, from the Tigris to the Indus, (or Persia in the larger signification of the word) *before* Cyrus.—By the Jews the Medes are only mentioned in a general manner, as a conquering and devastating nation.

2. Although it is alike unquestionable, as well from the accounts of Grecian writers, as of the Zendavesta, that, long before the Persian, extensive empires flourished in those countries, especially in the Eastern parts, or Bactria, we have yet absolutely nothing like a connected or chronological history of them; but only a few fragments, probably of Dynasties, which ruled in Media proper, just before the Persians.

a. The history of the Medes by Herodotus. The Medes of Herodotus are the inhabitants of Media proper. They were divided into six tribes, among which that of the Magi is to be distinguished.—The nation was dominant after the fall of the Assyrians.—The chief city of their empire was Ecbatana.—Boundaries: On the West the Tigris and Halys, on the East indefinite.—Internal constitution: the

*Cotemporary: Among the Jews, the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Among the Greeks: Archons for ten years at Athens. Among the Romans: the origin of their state and the two first kings.

dominion of nations and their chiefs over one another, according to their distance; rigid despotism, and the exaction of tribute.—Series of kings between 717 and 560, b. Ch.*). Deioces 53 years. He built Ecbatana, 657.—Phraortes 22 y. till 635. The conqueror of Persia. Cyaxares I, 40 y. till 595. He created the art of war among the Medes. Wars with the Lydians—the Assyrians. Invasion of the Scythians and Cimmerians 625. Nineveh conquered 597. Astyages 38 y. till 560, when he was dethroned by Cyrus. But according to Xenophon there followed yet a Cyaxares II. *b.* The history of the Medes according to Ctesias, taken from Persian archives, in Diodorus. This probably relates to another dynasty in Eastern Asia. Series of kings from 800 to 560, b. Ch. Arbaces, conqueror of the Assyrians, 18 y. Mandaucus 50 y. Sosarmus 30 y. Artias 50 y. Arbianses 22 y. Artaeus 40 y. and Artynes 22 y. Great wars with the Eastern Nomadic nations, the Saci and Cadusii. Artibarnas 14 y. Astyages the last king.

III. BABYLONIAN MONARCHY.

Periods: 1. Before the Chaldean conquest, about 630. 2. After the Chaldean to the Persian conquest, 630—538.

1. From the first period mere fragmentary accounts have descended to us. Even in the earliest ages of hoary antiquity the name of Babylon was not only known, but in the traditions of the Hebrews the country appears as the earliest theatre of political union, and the first place of gathering for the nations in Asia. Traditions respecting Nimrod—the building of the tower of Babel.

* Cotemporary: among the Jews the empire of Judah alone; among the Greeks: annual Archons—Draco—Solon. Among the Romans: kings from Tullus Hostilius to Servius Tullius.

Compare these traditions with the Babylonian Mythology of Berosus.—Among the succeeding Jewish writers of this period the historic accounts are meagre ; and Babylon was probably a dependency on the Assyrian empire.

2. In the second Period 630—538, the Babylonians are the dominant nation in Western Asia.* The Chaldeans gain possession of Babylon, and establish themselves there, extending their dominion by conquest as far as the Mediterranean.

Is a distinct nation signified by the Chaldean name, or is it applied generally to the Northern Nomades ?—Series of Chaldean kings. In the catalogue of them, preserved by Ptolemy, the series begins with Nabonassar, and the era named from him with the year 747 b. Ch. (perhaps because by introducing in his reign the solar year of the Egyptians, a safe mode of reckoning time became known to the Chaldeans). Neither he, nor his next twelve successors, are of any further note in history ; but only the six last kings. 1. Nabopolassar 627—604. The residence is fixed in Babylon ; and the Chaldee-Babylonian dominion firmly established by the victory at Circesium over Pharaoh Neco 604. 2. Nebuchadnezzar 604—561. Splendid period of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire. He conquers Phenicia and Old Tyre about 586. Jerusalem 587 ; perhaps also excursions into Egypt. Vast buildings and water-works in and about Babylon. After his death the empire rapidly declines under 3. Evilmeradach 561—559. 4. Neriglissar, (probably the cotemporary of the Nitocris of Herodotus ;) —555. 5. Labosoarchad, murdered after a few months. 6. Nabonnedus, (in Herodotus Labynedus ; probably the

* Cotemporary : among the Jews the last kings of Judah. Among the Greeks : Solon—Pisistratus. Among the Romans : Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius.

Chaldean Belshazzar;) 555—538. He is attacked and conquered by Cyrus. Babylon conquered by the Persians 538.

Compare the Chapters on the Babylonians in Heeren's *Ideen*, &c. vol. 1, 2d division.

IV. STATES AND KINGDOMS IN ASIA MINOR.

The vast multitude and variety of the inhabitants of this peninsula was probably the cause, why they never united to form one empire. Among these the Carian tribe in the West, the Phrygian in the interior as far as the Halys, the Syrico-Cappadocian beyond the Halys, and the Thracian in Bithynia were the most extended. Yet we find there but three kingdoms, which merit to be mentioned in history, the Trojan, the Phrygian, the Lydian.

1. The Trojan kingdom embraces western Mysia. Its history is a history of traditions, preserved only by poets; the dates of events cannot be fixed with certainty.

Kings: Teucer about 1400.—Dardanus—Erichthonius—Tros (Troja)—Ilus (Ilium)—Laomedon—Priamus. The destruction of Troy after a ten years' siege probably took place 1190 b. Ch.*

2. The kingdom of Phrygia. The kings almost all bore the name of Midas and Gordius; but it is utterly impossible for criticism to ascertain the series of them. After the death of the last, who is called Midas V, Phrygia became a province of the Lydian kingdom about 560.

* Cotemporary; among the Jews: Period of the Judges; before the building of Rome 450 years.

3. The kingdom of Lydia. The Lydians (Mæonians) were a branch of the Carian tribe. According to Herodotus three dynasties are enumerated in the Lydian kingdom; that of the Attyades till 1232; that of the Heraclidae till 727; and that of the Mermnades till 557; but the two first are almost entirely fabulous; and the history of Lydia begins with the last dynasty.*

Kings: Gyges till 689. From this time constant wars with the Grecian colonial cities along the sea. Gyges gains Colophon by conquest. Ardys till 640. He takes Priene. Under him an irruption of the Cimmerians. Sadyates till 628. Alyattes till 571. The Cimmerians are driven back. Smyrna is taken. Croesus till 557. He takes Ephesus. He subjects Asia Minor as far as the Halys. It is under him, that a Lydian empire is first established; which is, however, soon prostrated by Cyrus. Asia Minor becomes a province of the Persian Empire.

V. PHENICIA.

The Phenicians belong, it is true, to the most remarkable nations of Asia in this period; yet we have no complete, or even continuous history of them; but only separate accounts, from which, however, a picture of them in its great features may be traced.

On the particular sources of the Phenician history.—It is a question, how far Sanconiathon deserves to be here mentioned. Hebrew writers, especially Ezekiel; Greeks: Josephus, Eusebius, &c. and the fragments contained in them from Menander of Ephesus and Dios, historians of Tyre.

* Cotemporary in Asia: the Median and Babylonian empire. Among the Jews the last period of the kingdom of Judah. Among the Greeks annual Archons at Athens. Among the Romans the Kings.

Mémoires sur la Phéniciens par l'Abbé Mignot ; in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. T. XXXIV—XLII. A series of 24 dissertations.

The chapter on the Phenicians in Heeren's *Ideen*, &c. vol. 1, 2d division.

1. Remarks on the internal condition of Phenicia. It did not form one state, or at least not one kingdom ; but contained several cities with their territory. But among these leagues were formed, and by this means a sort of supremacy of the more powerful established, especially of Tyre.

2. Yet notwithstanding Tyre stood at the head, and perhaps also usurped a supremacy in the confederacy, each individual state still preserved its constitution within itself. In each of them we find kings ; who seem, however, to have been limited princes, in as much as there were magistrates at their side. Strict despotism could not long subsist in a nation, which carried on commerce and founded colonies. Of the several cities Tyre is the only one, of which we have a series of kings, and even this series is not altogether unbroken.

The series of these kings, preserved by Josephus and Menander, begins about 1050 before Christ, with Abikal the cotemporary of David. The most remarkable are : Hiram, the successor of the former ;—Ethbaal I. about 920.—Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, about 900.—Ethbaal II. under whom Tyre was destroyed by Nebuchadnezer, 586. Origin of New Tyre—Republican constitution under Suffetes : tributary kings under the Persian supremacy ;—New Tyre taken by Alexander 332. The flourishing period of Phe-

nia in general, and especially of Tyre, was therefore between 1000—332.*

3. In this period the Phenician nation was extended by sending out colonies; of which some, especially Carthage, became as powerful as the mother cities.

General ideas on founding colonies. 1. They are necessary to every commercial nation, so soon as commerce extends to remote countries. 2. They also afforded the means of preventing the evils, that result from a too great increase of the class of the needy. 3. They were also not unfrequently the consequence of political troubles, when the discontented party voluntarily or on compulsion emigrated, and selected for themselves places of abode in foreign lands.

4. Geographical view of the Phenician colonies. At a very early period they were possessed of most of the islands of the Archipelago, from which, however, they were again driven by the Greeks. Their chief countries for colonization were partly southern Spain, (Tartessus—Gades—Carteja,) partly the Northern Coast of Africa, to the left of the lesser Syrtis (Utica—Carthage—Adrumetum), partly also the Northwest Coast of Sicily (Panormus, Lilybaeum). It is very highly probable, that they also had settlements to the East, in the Persian gulf, on the islands Tylos and Aradus (the Bahhrein islands).

5. The view of the Phenician colonies serves as a foundation for the view of their commerce

* Cotemporary in inner Asia: the Monarchies of the Assyrians, Medes, and Babylonians. Among the Jews: Period of the kings after David. Among the Greeks: from Homer to Solon. Among the Romans: in the two last centuries the period of their kings.

and navigation; which, however, was extended still further than their settlements. It began among them, as many other nations, with plundering by sea, and in Homer they still appear as pirates. Their chief objects were *a.* Their colonial countries Northern Africa and Spain, especially the latter on account of its productive silver mines. *b.* Beyond the Pillars of Hercules the western coast of Africa; Britain and the Scilly islands for tin, and probably for amber. *c.* From the harbors on the northern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, Elath and Ezion-Geber, they in connection with the Jews traded with Ophir, i. e. the rich Southern countries, especially Arabia Felix and Ethiopia. *d.* From the Persian Gulf to the nearer Indian Peninsula and Ceylon. And *e.* they also undertook several great voyages of discovery, among which the sailing round Africa ^{about 600} _{b. C.} is the most important.

6. But their traffic by land, consisting for the most part of the traffic done in the caravans, was of not inferior importance. The chief branches of it were: *a.* The Arabian traffic by caravans for spices and incense; directed as well to Arabia Felix, as to Gerra near the Persian Gulf. *b.* The traffic with Babylon by way of Palmyra; and from there, yet only through a medium, across Persia as far as little Bucharia and little Thibet, perhaps even as far as China. *c.* The traffic with Armenia and the neighboring countries for slaves, horses, vessels of copper, &c. &c.

7. To finish the sketch, we must add their own fabrics and manufactures; especially their estab-

ishments for weaving and dyeing; (the purple dye with a liquor extracted from shell fish); and manufactures of glass and play-things, which were disposed of to advantage in their trade with rude nations, which commonly consisted in barter. — Several other important inventions, among which that of letters deserves to be first named, are attributed to them.

VI. SYRIANS.

1. The inhabitants of Syria, 2000 years before Christ, were already at the time of Abraham's sojourning among them, a nation dwelling in cities. Still their country did not form one state, but contained several cities with their territory, which had each its chief or its king. Among them Damascus, Hemath, &c. are known in the earliest antiquity.

2. Yet they were often oppressed by foreign conquerors; and Syria, especially in the age of about 1040. David, became a Jewish Province. But under Solomon it again broke free, whilst one, who had been a slave, possessed himself of Damascus.

3. A kingdom of Damascus was now formed, which however embraced at the same time the greatest part of Syria, in as much as the kings in the other cities were tributary to those of Damascus; and which was increased, especially at the expense of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel.*

* Cotemporary in inner Asia : Assyrian empire. Among the Jews : the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Among the Greeks : establishment of the Asiatic colonies.—Lycurgus.

The kings, known from the books of the Chronicles, are : Reson about 980. Benhadad I. about 900. Hasael about 850. Benhadad II. about 830. Rezin.

VII. JEWS.

The history of the Jewish nation begins with the patriarch of the nation, with Abraham ; but that of the Jewish state with the taking of Palestine. It may be divided into three periods. I. The history of the Jews as a nomadic nation from Abraham till the establishment of their state in Palestine 2000—1500. II. History of the Jewish State as a federative republic under the high priests and judges 1500—1000. III. History of the Jewish state under the monarchical constitution 1100—600, at first as one kingdom—975 ; and afterwards with the divided kingdoms Israel and Judah till the downfall of the latter, 588.

Of the sources of the Jewish history.—Their Annals ;—the books of Judges, Samuel, Chronicles, Kings. Questions arise as to the manner of their origin, and in how far their authors were, each in his turn, cotemporary with the events described. Are the Hebrew poets, especially the prophets, of value for the purposes of history ? Josephus—an inquirer into the antiquities in his *Archaeology*, and a cotemporary historian in his *History of the Roman war*.

As yet we unfortunately have no treatise of the Jewish history previous to the Babylonian exile, written as it should be, without superstition and without scepticism. Such works as Berruyer *Histoire du peuple de Dieu depuis son origine jusqu' à la naissance de J. C.* Paris. 1742. in 10 vols. 8 vo. and the continuation depuis la naissance de J. C. 10 vols. by no means do away the want. Relandi *antiquit. sacrae Hebr.* ; the writings of J. D. Michaelis, especially his notes to the translation of the Old Testament, and his treatise on

the Mosaic Law, as also the works of J. G. Eichhorn, particularly his introduction to the O. T. ; and Herder on the Spirit of Hebrew poetry, contain excellent materials for a proper history.

I. Period of the Nomadic condition from Abraham till the conquest of Palestine.—Under Abraham, Israel, and Jacob they formed but one nomadic family, which, however, during a residence ²⁰⁰⁰ in Lower Egypt increased to a nomadic ^{till about} nation, that sojourned there for the space ^{1550.} of 430 (according to others 250) years in dependence on the Egyptian Pharaohs, and were divided into 12 tribes. But as they grew to be numerous and therefore formidable, the Egyptian Pharaohs, according to the usual policy of the Egyptians, insisted on their building and residing in cities. Unaccustomed to oppression, they removed from Egypt under Moses, and under him and his successor Joshua conquered the promised land, Palestine.

Of Moses and his law-giving.—What did he adopt from the Egyptians, and what was not taken from them?—The worship of Jehovah in the national sanctuary and by national festivals, according to ceremonies strictly prescribed, was to be the point of union for the whole nation, and the political bond to connect the tribes. Of the caste of Levites in comparison with the Egyptian caste of priests.

J. D. Michaelis *Mosaisches Recht*. Göttingen. 1778, &c. 6 vols. 8 vo. The commentator has perhaps sometimes seen more than the law-giver.

II. Period of the federative Republic—From the taking of Palestine to the establishment of Monarchy 1500—1100.

1. This period may in general be characterized as the heroic age of the nation, which after its gradual transition to stationary abodes and agriculture lived in constant altercations with their neighbors, partly the Arabian nomades, partly the Philistines and Edomites. Impossibility of the entire extirpation of the ancient inhabitants according to the design of Moses. The worship of Jehovah was, therefore, never the only one in the country.

2. Internal constitution. As the country was divided according to tribes, and these were kept distinct, the constitution of tribes remained established for a long time. Each tribe preserves its chief and elders, as in the nomadic condition. But in the worship of Jehovah all the tribes have a mutual bond, which forms of them a confederated state. In the cities, especially, magistrates were appointed, to whom scribes from the order of the Levites are added.

3. The continuing union of the nation and the preservation of the Mosaic law are especially promoted by dividing the tribe of Levites among 48 cities of their own, scattered through the whole land, and by making the high Priesthood hereditary in the family of Aaron.

4. But when after Joshua's death no leader of the united army appeared again at the head, this religious bond was not sufficient, especially as the jealousy of the weaker tribes was awakened towards the stronger. The high Priests appear at that time to have possessed no political influence.

The oppression from abroad alone prevented the entire dissolution of the national union.

5. The Jews are at one time an independent, at another a tributary nation. In the seasons of oppression heroes from time to time arise among them, and as chief magistrates and leaders of a part of the nation, or even of the whole people, and at the same time as zealous advocates for the worship of Jehovah, free them from servitude: the Judges, especially Athniel, Deborah, and Sampson. Of the miraculous in their history.

about 1150. 6. Restoration of the worship of Jehovah by Samuel. Samuel becomes a Judge, and rules as one entrusted with the counsels of Jehovah. His sons themselves defeat his plan, to make the judicial dignity hereditary in his family. The nation desires a king, whom Samuel, as the interpreter of Jehovah, is to appoint. His artful policy in the choice, which he cannot prevent. He selects in Saul the man of the least political importance, but the tallest and the most comely among the people. A formal constitution, according to the command of Moses, is prepared, and deposited in the national sanctuary.

Causes, which led the nation to demand a king.—Earlier attempts, especially of Abimelech, to become king.

III. Period of the Monarchy, from 1100—600.

1. The Jewish State as one kingdom, from 1100 (1095)—975.

1. Saul, the new king, maintains himself by his victory over the Ammonites; his authority is generally acknowledged at an assembly of the people,

in which Samuel resigns his dignity as judge. But as Saul, when victorious, would not continue under the guardianship of Samuel, as he himself ventures to consult Jehovah, they become mutually embittered. The offended Samuel himself secretly anoints another young man as king, David, the son of Jesse, who by his heroic deeds is able to support himself, and escapes the jealousy of Saul.—Saul preserves his station amidst continued wars with the neighboring nations, in which wars he, together with all his sons but one, loses his life. about 1055.

2. Condition of the nation and the constitution under Saul. The king is little more than the mere leader of the armies, bound to act according to the commands of Jehovah; without a court or a fixed residence. The nation still continued to be a mere agricultural and pastoral people, without wealth and luxury; but gradually acquiring a warlike character.

3. David succeeds him 1055—1015; but not without opposition. Eleven tribes declared themselves for Ishbosheth, the surviving son of Saul; Judah, his own tribe, alone acknowledges David. It is not till after seven years, after Ishbosheth had been murdered by David's men, that David is acknowledged as king by the whole nation.

4. Entire revolution of the nation and change of the constitution under David, who reigned alone for the space of 33 years. A new residence is fixed at Jerusalem, which is at the same time intended to be the seat of the national sanctuary. The strict observance of the worship of Jehovah.

as the exclusive national worship, and the political importance of the same.

5. The Jewish state receives large additions by conquests. The war with Hadad-Esar prepares the way to the conquest of Syria and Idumea. The kingdom extends from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, and from Phenicia to the Arabian Gulf. The government gradually becomes a despotism, and is administered from the Seraglio, of which the political consequences are seen towards the end of the reign of David, in the insurrections headed by his sons.

6. Reign of Solomon 1015—975; the splendid reign of a despot, unwarlike, but fond of display, and of a cultivated mind. The government was administered from the interior of the seraglio. The kingdom is differently organized, for the maintenance of the court. Connections are formed with the neighboring states, especially with Tyre; and thus a participation in the commerce of the Southern countries is secured. The commerce was carried on from the harbors on the Red Sea conquered by David; but only as a monopoly of the court.

7. The metropolis grows rich by the splendid expenditures of the court; but the country is impoverished and oppressed, especially the more remote tribes. The gradual internal decline is hastened by the introduction of the worship of foreign Gods, in connection with that of Jehovah, which Solomon seems at first by the building of the temple to have intended to make the only one, according to the design of his father. An abortive

attempt to produce an insurrection is made by Jeroboam ; and another by the Edomites, who remain tributary under their own kings , and Syria, which had been gained by conquest, is actually lost by the foundation of the kingdom of Damascus, even in the life-time of Solomon.

8. Solomon is followed by his son Rehoboam, but immediately on his accession to the Government, the discontent, which was indirectly increased by Rehoboam, breaks out into a rebellion. Jeroboam is recalled from Egypt, and ten tribes acknowledge him as their king. Only the two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, remain true to Rehoboam.

2. The Jewish state as a divided kingdom, 975—588.

1. Relation of the two kingdoms, Judah and Israel, to each other. Although Israel was larger, and also more populous, Judah, on account of possessing the chief city, was richer, and the power of the two kingdoms, therefore, nearly equal. For this very reason the contest between them was the more obstinate.

2. The kings of Israel endeavor to confirm the political division of the nation by establishing a sanctuary in their own territory, and prohibiting their subjects from visiting the ancient national sanctuary in Jerusalem. They were, therefore, denominated enemies of the worship of Jehovah. But even in the kingdom of Judah, several kings were so impolitic in their views, as to introduce the service of other Gods beside the worship of Jehovah. But oppression itself preserved the ser-

vice of Jehovah; the number and the political influence of the prophets increased the more, the more that seasons of anxious alarm rendered the oracles of Jehovah necessary, and the idea of a future, more prosperous period, under a powerful king, the idea of the Messiah and his kingdom, is further developed, by the very lively recollection of the splendid reign of a David. — The schools of the prophets.

3. The jealousy and the wars between the two kingdoms not only continue with little interruption, but become more dangerous by means of connections with foreign princes, especially with the kings of Damascus and of Egypt. The rise of vast empires in the interior of Asia finally put an end to these weak kingdoms.

Chief Points in the history of the two separate kingdoms.

1. The empire of Israel, 975—722, under 19 kings of different houses, who succeed each other by means of violent revolutions. 1. Jeroboam †954. The city Sichem is laid out for a royal residence, and sanctuaries established at Bethel and Dan, and priests appointed, who were not of the tribe of Levi. Constant wars with the kings in Judah. 2. Nadab, Jeroboam's son, murdered 953 by 3. Basha †930. By his alliance with the kings of Damascus he brought the kingdom Judah into great danger. 4. Ela, murdered 929 by one of his generals. 5. Zimri, but in opposition to him, the army immediately elected 6. Omri, who had, however, in the beginning of his reign a competitor in Tibni †925. Omri builds the new capital, Samaria, †918. He is succeeded by 7. his son Ahab. Close connection by a marriage with the king of Sidon, and introduction of the Phœnician worship of Baal. Wars with Damascus, in which Ahab finally falls, 897. Under Ahab an alliance is made with the

king of Judah. He is succeeded by his sons 8. Ahaziah †896 and 9. Jehoram. The alliance with Judah continues. Jehoram is murdered by Jehu 883. 10. Jehu. He extirpates the house of Ahab, which had given Israel four kings, and sets aside the worship of Baal. The kings of Damascus take from the kingdom of Israel all the country beyond the Jordan. Jehu †856. He is succeeded by his son 11. Jehoahaz †840. The wars with Damascus, in which Israel is unsuccessful, continue. 12. Jehoash †825. He routs the king of Damascus and of Judah. 13. Jeroboam II. †784. Restoration of the kingdom of Israel in its ancient extent. After an unquiet interregnum of 12 years, the throne is ascended by his son 14. Zachariah 773, who is killed the very same year, and with whom the house of Jehu comes to an end, having given Israel five kings. His murderer 15. Shallum is after a month killed in his turn by 16. Menahem †761. Under him the first campaign of the Syrians under Pul, of whom he purchases peace by paying tribute. 17. His son Pekahiah, is murdered 759 by 18. Pekah. Under him the campaign of Tiglath Pileser of Assyria, and the destruction of Damascus. He is murdered 740 by 19. Hoshea, who after an anarchy of eight years at last gains the throne. He seeks by an alliance with Egypt to free himself from the Assyrian tribute; but Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, makes war upon him, takes Samaria, and makes an end of the kingdom of Israel, carrying the inhabitants away captive into the interior of Asia, to Media 722.

2. The kingdom of Judah under twenty kings of the house of David 975—588. The throne passes successively, and for the most part quietly from father to son, and is only twice interrupted, by the usurpation of Athaliah, and the interference of foreign conquerors. 1. Rehoboam †958. Jerusalem remains the royal residence, but as early as the reign of Rehoboam, the worship of Jehovah was neglected, from the introduction of foreign Gods. Beside the war with

Israel, Jerusalem is attacked and plundered by Shishack, the king of the Egyptians. 2. Abijah †955. 3. Asa. He was by the kings of Israel and Damascus jointly, and might perhaps have fallen, had he not been so successful as to divide their alliance ; †914. 4. Jehosaphat, the restorer of the worship of Jehovah, and founder of an alliance with the kingdom of Israel. He fails in the attempt to restore the navigation on the Red Sea to Ophir. †891. 5. Jehoram. The alliance with Israel is strengthened by his marriage with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab ; but Idumaea during his reign broke entirely free from the kingdom of Judah. †884. 6. His son Ahaziah was killed 883 by Jehu, the murderer and successor of Jehoram, king of Israel. 7. His mother Athaliah gains possession of the throne, and causes all the members of the royal house to be murdered ; one son only of Ahaziah 8. Joash, a child is saved from destruction, educated secretly in the temple, and after seven years, by means of a revolution excited by the High Priest Jehoiada, forcibly placed upon the throne ; and Athaliah put to death 877. Joash governed under the guardianship of the priests ; the worship of Jehovah is, therefore, restored. Yet threatened by Hazael, king of Damascus, he is compelled to pay him tribute. He was killed 838. 9. Amaziah. He beat the Edomites, but was himself beaten by Joash, king of Israel, by whom even Jerusalem was plundered. He was killed 811, and followed 10. by his son Azariah (or Uzia). He becomes leprous and died †759. During his life time, his son 11. Jotham †743 shared in the government. The wars with Damascus and Israel are rekindled. 12. Ahaz. †728. The alliance of the kings of Damascus and Assyria induces Ahaz to call Tiglath Pileser from Assyria to his assistance, who destroyed the kingdom of Damascus, and made those of Judah and Israel tributary. 13. Hezekiah. †699. He frees himself from his dependency on Assyria. Samaria is destroyed 722 during his reign by Salmanassar ; and when his successor Sanherib 714 undertook the invasion

of Egypt, Jerusalem also was besieged, but happily freed, as the whole attempt utterly fails. Under his government **Isaiah** prophecies. 14. **Manasseh** †644. During his reign of fifty-five years the Phenician worship of Baal was generally introduced; the service of Jehovah declines, and the laws of Moses fall into oblivion. 15. **Amon** is murdered as early as 642. 16. **Josiah**. He restores the temple and the worship of Jehovah. The book of laws, which had fallen entirely into oblivion, is found again, and a strict reform is made according to it. But the conquests of the Egyptian king **Nechoh** in Asia strike **Palestina** first of all, and **Josiah** remains on the field in the battle 611. His son 17. **Jehoahaz** is in three months dethroned by Pharaoh **Nechoh**, and his brother 18. **Jehoiakim** placed on the throne as a tributary prince. But by the rise of the Chaldee-Babylonian empire Pharaoh **Nechoh** after the battle at **Circesium** 606 is stripped of his Asiatic possessions, and **Jehoiakim** becomes tributary to **Nebuchadnezzar**; †599. Age of the prophet **Jeremiah**.—His son 19. **Jehoiachin** only three months afterwards, at the time of the second invasion of **Nebuchadnezzar**, is, together with all the distinguished part of the nation, carried away into the interior of Asia (beginning of the Babylonian exile), and his paternal uncle 20. **Zedekiah** is placed on the throne as a tributary king. But upon his forming an alliance with Egypt, to throw off the Babylonian yoke, **Nebuchadnezzar** came for the third time, took Jerusalem 588, and caused it to be razed, and **Zedekiah**, after his eyes had been put out and his children executed, was likewise with the rest of the nation carried to Babylon.

II. AFRICAN NATIONS.

GENERAL PRELIMINARY GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON ANCIENT AFRICA.*

1. Although the Phenicians once circumnavigated Africa, still the northern half only of this continent was known in antiquity. But this was more accurately known than at present, for the lands along the coast were occupied by cultivated and commercial nations, who penetrated far into the interior. This was done even by the Carthaginians and Egyptians in their time; still more by the Macedonian Greeks under the Ptolemies; and also even under the Romans. War, hunting, and commerce contributed to this result.

2. Africa as a whole differs from Asia alike in its position and in its form. Whilst Asia lies almost exclusively in the temperate zone, Africa lies almost wholly in the torrid. Whilst Asia is rich in gulfs, that enter far into the land, and in mighty rivers, Africa forms almost a regular triangle, and, in the whole Northern half, has only two large streams, the Nile and the Niger. No wonder then, that this part of our earth seems to form a world by itself, peculiar in its products as in its inhabitants!

* See Ideen, &c. vol. ii, page 2 & ff.

3. According to its physical character, Northern Africa is divided into three regions, which even in antiquity were distinguished by peculiar names. The land on the coast of the Mediterranean, with the exception of Tripolis, or the Regia Syrtica, is for the most part a very fruitful country, and was, therefore, in all ages thickly inhabited. Hence it is called in Herodotus: the inhabited Africa; at present Barbary. Above this under the 30° N. L. there follows a mountainous country, through which the chain of the Atlas extends; abounding in wild beasts, and in dates; Herodotus therefore calls it, Africa, abounding in beasts: the Arabians, the land of dates (Biledulgerid). Above this from 30° to 20° N. L. Africa as well as Arabia is crossed by the Sandy Region, which was thence known among the ancients as the moderns by the name of Africa deserta, or the desert of Sand (Sahara). The fruitful tracts beyond the wilderness on the banks of the Niger, were for the most part unknown to the Greeks; and are included in the general name of Ethiopia; although this name chiefly marked the countries above Egypt. But they knew of several fertile spots in the desert, the Oases, such as Augila, Ammonium, and the Oases of Egypt.

4. There is no political division, embracing all Africa; only the Northern coast was the abode of civilized nations, Egyptians, Cyrenaeans, and Carthaginians, and of these only the first were aboriginal. The rest wandered about as Nomades, or formed senate states, which we know to have existed, but of which we possess no history.—Along the coast, from the Sinus Plinthinetes,

Egypt is followed, 1. by Marmarica, without cities, for the most part a desert, and inhabited exclusively by nomadic tribes, from 40°—47° E. L. 2. The fruitful tract colonized by the Greeks, Cyrenaica, extending as far as the great Syrtis 37—40° N. L. Cities : Cyrene, Barca. 3. The territory of Carthage, extending from the great Syrtis 37° to 25° E. L. It embraced *a.* The country between the great and little Syrtis (*Regio Syrtica*), the present kingdom of Tripoli ; a sandy tract, chiefly inhabited by Nomades. *b.* The immediate territory of Carthage (*Kingdom of Tunis*). A very fruitful district ; the southern part *Byzacena*, the northern *Zeugitana*. Cities : Carthage, Utica, &c. 4. Numidia and Mauritania ; inhabited, in the days of Carthage, by Nomadic nations only. Along the coast there were some cities built by colonies from Carthage.

EGYPTIANS.

Geographical Hints. Egypt in its square contents is equal to two-thirds of Germany, and may therefore be reckoned among the larger countries of our earth ; but in respect to its physical qualities it is very unequal. The land immediately on the banks of the Nile, as far as the floods of that river extend, are alone fruitful in corn ; the remainder on the West is a desert of sand, and on the East, a rocky, mountainous region. The Nile, from its entrance into Egypt from Syene till within about seventy miles of its mouth near the city Cercasorus, flows in an undivided channel,

and in a strait direction from South to North, in a valley, which on the West is enclosed by sandy deserts, and on the East by mountains of granite, and is from ten to sixteen miles in breadth. At Cercasorus the river is divided into two principal arms, of which the East discharges itself in the Mediterranean at the city Pelusium, the West at the city Canopus (ostium Pelusiacum and Canopicum); from each of these, several secondary arms are divided; so that in the age of Herodotus they counted seven mouths of the Nile, although the number has not always remained the same. The land between the two extreme arms of the Nile bears the name of Delta from its triangular shape; and was filled with cities; and excellently well tilled. The Egypt, fruitful and inhabited by cultivated men, was therefore limited to the valley of the Nile on both sides of the river from Syene to Cercasorus, and the Delta; to which are to be added a few spots, abounding in fountains, in the midst of the western desert, and known by the name of Oases.—The fruitfulness of the Delta as well as of the valley of the Nile, in the almost entire want of rain, especially in Upper Egypt, depended on the overflowings of the Nile, which periodically occur. They begin in the beginning of August, and continue till the end of October; so that during these three months the above-mentioned portions of the country are covered with water.

Egypt is divided into Upper Egypt, from Syene to the city Chemmis, (chief city, Thebes or Diospolis); Middle Egypt, from Chemmis to Cercaso-

rus, (chief city, Memphis); and Lower Egypt, which comprises the Delta and the land on both sides of it, and was full of cities, of which Sais is particularly worthy of note.

Above Egypt comes Ethiopia (*Aethiopia supra Aegyptum*), which from the earliest times seems to have stood in an intimate connection with Egypt, especially of a commercial nature. The countries, just above Egypt, which are usually included under the name of Nubia, are for the most part a mere desert of sand, which have from the beginning been traversed by marauding Nomades; whilst along the shore of the Arabian gulf a rocky chain of mountains extended, which also filled up the corresponding part of Egypt; and derived in Nubia a still greater importance, from the rich mines of gold which it contained, and which were found just above the Egyptian boundary. The Nile, which in Nubia, takes a great bend to the west, is here full of rocks, and its navigation is therefore difficult; yet the banks are fruitful and inhabited, and rich in monuments of antiquity. Yet ascending still further, from 16° N. L. the character of the country changes; fruitful districts commence; and their costly products, gold as well as incense, have always made these provinces rich commercial countries. Here even in the time of Herodotus, Meroe was celebrated, with a capital of the same name. It comprises the land, included between the two rivers, the Nile on the West side, and the Astaboras (Tacazze), which empties into the Nile, on the East; for which reason, though not with strict propriety, it is often called an isl-

and. It extended to the sources of the Nile, or the present province Gojam, where the caste of Egyptian warriors, which for the most part emigrated under Psammetichus, had been established. Meroe itself formed a state of priests with a king at the head, like the Egyptian states.—The city Axum or Auxume is not, it is true, mentioned till a later period, but yet, to judge from the remaining ruins, appears to have been of equal antiquity with the ancient Egyptian cities and with Meroe. So too Adule.

The Egyptian history is naturally divided into three periods, of unequal extent. Of these the first, the earliest period, extends to the Sesostridae, about 1500 b. C. ; the second, that of the Sesostridae, or the splendid age of Egypt to Psammetichus, from 1500 to about 650 ; the third, from Psammetichus to the Persian conquest, 650 to 525.

FIRST PERIOD.

From the earliest times to the Sesostridae about 1500 before Christ.

Sources : 1. Jewish writers. Moses. His accounts furnish a faithful picture of the Egyptian state at his time, but no continuous history.—From Moses till Solomon (1500—1000 b. C.) entire silence of the Hebrew writers respecting Egypt. From Solomon till Cyrus (1000—550) separate fragmentary, but for the most part very meagre accounts.—Importance and advantages of the Jewish accounts, in as far as they are purely historical.—2. Grecian writers. a.

Herodotus. The first, who gave a history of the Egyptians. About 70 years after the overthrow of the throne of the Pharaohs by the Persian conquerors, he collected in Egypt itself the accounts of the early history of the country from personal intercourse with the priests, the men the best informed on the subject, and committed them faithfully to writing, as he had heard them. If therefore we desire to estimate rightly the value of his accounts, the question presents itself, What did the priests know of the early history of their country? And before this can be answered, we must first learn, in what manner historical information was preserved among the Egyptians from the earliest periods.

The earliest history of the Egyptians, like that of other nations, was one of traditions. But they more early than other nations, obtained a mode of writing, by Hieroglyphics, of which the signs, taken from natural objects, do not, like the letters of the alphabet, represent sounds, but ideas. It is in its nature less perfect than the mode of writing by letters: 1. Because it can denote only a small circle of ideas, and these only by themselves, without connection and grammatical relations, or at least all this in a very imperfect manner. 2. Because it is not so much adapted to the purposes of writing, as of painting or engraving, and therefore is not so useful for books as for public monuments. 3. Because it is not of itself intelligible, but only by the assistance of a key, which needs to be preserved by an equal tradition, of which the priests were exclusively possessed; but which in the course of so many centuries could with difficulty be preserved unmixed with falsehood; especially as 4. The same image seems often to have been used for designating very different objects. Egyptian history, therefore, in the mouth of Egyptian priests, could scarcely be more than a history, depending on public monuments, for that very reason merely fragmentary, and consequently no continued chronology; in fine, a history not to be understood except

by the interpretation of Hieroglyphics, and of course liable to various misinterpretations.*

These preliminary views on early Egyptian history, will receive their full confirmation, if we examine the narration in Herodotus, of the Egyptian kings before Psammetichus.† We may clearly infer from it: 1. The whole history depends on a series of public monuments, which were either in or around Memphis. In a strict sense we might say it depended on a single monument in Memphis itself; the temple of Vulcan or Phtha, the chief temple in this city. The history begins with Menes, who first erected it (cap. 99), and of each of his successors it is mentioned what he had done to enlarge or beautify the edifice; those, on the contrary, who made no additions to it, but left behind them other monuments (as the builders of the Pyramids), were called oppressors of the people and contemnners of the Gods; and of those, who left none at all, they were able only to repeat a list of the names. 2. The series of these kings is, therefore, not uninterrupted; although the priests gave it to Herodotus as such; but there are great chasms in it, as a comparison with Diodorus clearly shows. Hence no system of chronology can be based upon it. 3. The whole history is interwoven with narrations, which are derived

[* Since the edition of this history, from which we are translating, was published, the continued investigations of Young and Champollion have led to the results:

1. "That no Egyptian writing is entirely *representative*, as is generally believed, and as the Mexican paintings seem to be.

2. "That there does not exist, upon Egyptian monuments, any writing entirely *ideographic*; that is to say, using only a mixture of figurative and symbolic characters.

3. "That the primitive writing of Egypt, on the other hand, is not entirely *phonetic*.

4. "But that *hieroglyphic* writing is a complex system, a mode of writing at once *figurative*, *symbolical*, and *phonetic*, in the same text, the same phrase, and even in one and the same word."]

† Herod II, cap. 99—150.

from hieroglyphic representations, and are, therefore, themselves allegorical ; of which, however, we cannot resolve the meaning ; since the priests were either themselves ignorant of it, or unwilling to communicate it ; and not improbably substituted false explanations of their own. To this class belong that of the robbery of Rhampsinitus, as well as of his journey to the lower world, where he played at dice with Ceres (cap. 121. 122.), of the daughter of Cheops (cap. 127.), of the blindness of Pheron and the manner of his cure (cap. 111.) &c. That this charge is not without foundation, may be plainly seen from two examples, the one cap. 131, where it is remarked by Herodotus himself ; the other cap. 141, where we learn the proper explanation from other sources. Besides, the attempts of the priests, common even in the times of Herodotus, to make Grecian and Egyptian mythology accord with each other, gave rise to many interpretations, which the critic cannot admit, as, e. g., the whole history of king Proteus, which is much grecianized, cap. 112—115. — Against the correctness of the general result of this investigation, that the Egyptian historical narrative of Herodotus is nothing more than a narrative, resting for its support on public monuments, and concealed under the veil of hieroglyphics, there remains a single objection, which might yet be raised. It is, that the Egyptian priests had an alphabet beside their hieroglyphics, and, therefore, in addition to those public monuments may also have had written annals in the strictest sense ; but Herodotus himself refutes this objection. All that the priests could tell him, in addition to the accounts already cited, was the names of 330 kings after Menes ; (whom it is the custom to place always at the head of the Egyptian reckonings of time ; being probably an allegorical personage, designating the year or the land) ; and these names they read to him from a roll of papyrus. But they knew nothing further, than the names, because these kings had left no monuments of themselves (cap. 100.). Hence, although

we can fix neither the source nor the time, whence and when the Egyptians received the mode of writing with the alphabet, we can yet assert with confidence, that they either were destitute of it till the time of Psammetichus, or made no further use of it for their historical annals than to write down names.

b. Besides Herodotus, we find names of Egyptian kings cited in Diodorus*). This author, who wrote 400 years after Herodotus, compiled his account of Egypt from various Greek writings. Between him and Herodotus there is no opposition; if we but regard the series of kings in Herodotus as not without chasms. Diodorus, too, did not design to furnish perfect catalogues of Egyptian kings; but only of the remarkable ones; yet with mention of the intervening periods according to ages.

c. From both of these the Egyptian priest Manetho is distinguished, who lived during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus about 260 b. C., and wrote *Aegyptiaca*, of which several fragments (though their genuineness is disputed) have been preserved in Josephus, besides lists of kings in the chronicles of Eusebius and Syncellus. This catalogue is divided into three divisions (*Tomos*), of which each contains several dynasties, that are named from the different cities of Egypt. Of each dynasty, the number of the kings it furnished, and of the years it continued, is mentioned.—If in the time of Herodotus the Egyptian priests could furnish the names of 330 kings, it is in no degree surprising, that such catalogues existed in the time of Manetho, and were consulted by him. But whether his catalogues are the same, which were read to Herodotus, remains of course uncertain; still it is probable from the circumstance, that the number of kings in Manetho agrees pretty well with that in Herodotus. Yet much must here remain uncertain and unsettled, since we have the catalogues of Manetho at third hand, and disfigured by a multitude of errors in copying.

* Diod. L. I.

The Moderns, who have treated of Egyptian antiquities, from Kircher *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* 1760. to de Pauw *Recherches sur les Egyptiens et sur les Chinois* 1772, have but too frequently published their own theories and dreams for truth. Attempts at chronological order have been made particularly by Marsham in his *Canon Chronicus*; and by Gatterer in his *Synchronistic Universal history*. — As leading works we enumerate:

Jablonski *Pantheon Mythicum Aegyptiacum*. 1750. 8 vo.

Gatterer *Commentationes de theogonia Aegypti*. in *Commentat. Societ. Goetting. T. VII.*

De Origine et usu Obeliscorum auctore G. Zoëga. Romae. 1797.

L'Egypte sous les Pharaons, ou Recherches sur la Géographie, la Religion, la Langue, les Ecritures, et l'Histoire de l'Egypte avant l'invasion de Cambyse, par Champollion le jeune. T. I. II. 1814. Both parts, devoted to Geography, contain the restoration of the names of the ancient Egyptian provinces and cities according to Coptic authorities.

[An account of some recent discoveries in Hieroglyphical literature, and Egyptian Antiquities, &c. &c. By Thomas Young. London. 1823.

Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Egyptiens, ou Recherches sur les Elémens Premiers de cette Ecriture Sacrée, &c. Par M. Champollion le jeune. Paris. 1824. For an abstract of this work see the *American Quarterly Review*, Vol. I. No. 2. Philadelphia. 1827.]

Commentationes Herodoteae scribebat Frid. Creuzer. Aegyptiaca et Hellenica. Pars I. Lipsiae. 1819. A series of the most acute and learned illustrations of several points of Egyptian antiquities, which illustrations were occasioned by several passages in Herodotus.

The chapter in Heeren's *Ideen, &c.* 1815. Part II. Vol. II. on the Egyptians. In particular the introduction on Hieroglyphics.

For the best drawings of the Egyptian monuments we are indebted to the French expedition to Egypt. Those of Denon in his *Voyage en Egypte* very much surpass the earlier ones of Pococke and Norden ; but are in their turn far surpassed in the magnificent work :

Description d'Egypte, Antiquités. P. I. II. III. Of these P. I. contains the monuments of Upper Egypt from the Nubian boundary to Thebes ; P. II. III. exclusively the monuments of Thebes. On this subject consult the monuments of Egyptian Thebes ; an appendix to Heeren's *Ideen, &c. &c. P. II. Vol. II.* of the third edition.

1. The beginning of political culture in Egypt precedes the time of history ; for even in the age of Abraham, and still more that of Moses, Egypt appears to have had a constitution so fully developed, that a long period must have been necessary, to elevate the nation and the state to that degree of culture, which we see it to have then attained. We can, therefore, safely assert, that Egypt belongs to the oldest countries of our earth, in which a political union was formed, although it never can with certainty be decided, whether such union was not formed in India at an earlier period.

2. The causes, which made Egypt so early a land of culture, are to be sought for partly in its natural character, and partly in its situation ; and Egypt is, therefore, to be considered not merely by itself, but in connexion with the rest of Africa. It is in all Northern Africa, the only country that lies on a river of magnitude and capable of being navigated without interruption ; without which river it would be a desert, like the countries of this continent under the same latitude. Here the two extraordinary circumstances meet, that on the one

side the river by its overflowings so prepares the ground, that the sowing of the seed is almost the only labor; and yet on the other opposes so many hindrances to the considerable progress of agriculture (by the necessity of canals, dams, &c. &c.), that human invention must necessarily be aroused by them. While these causes operated to promote in Egypt agriculture and various branches of knowledge having reference to it, the situation of the country in the vicinity of regions producing gold and spices in abundance, and in the middle between Africa and Asia, favored the commerce and trade of the nation; and in all ages Egypt is seen to be the chief seat of inland commerce, or that of the caravans.

3. Thus there was necessarily a different condition of things in the fruitful valley of the Nile from that in the deserts of Lybia. Several smaller states seem to have been organized in that valley, long before any larger Egyptian kingdom existed. Their origin is naturally hid in an obscurity, which history cannot now entirely dissipate. Yet from the monuments and the accounts it seems clear, that Upper Egypt was first the seat of culture; which advancing from the South, was extended still further to the North by the establishment of colonies. This probably was the result of an emigration of a foreign race, differing from the black, as is proved by the images, as well of sculpture as of painting, upon the still existing Egyptian monuments.

4. The accounts of the high antiquity of political culture not only in India, but also in Arabia

Felix, as well as in Ethiopia, especially in Meroë, and the obvious traces of ancient commerce between these Southern countries, afford an easy explanation of such emigrations, although the period of them cannot be chronologically settled. But religion unquestionably had no less a share in them. The civil compact was not probably at a later period connected with religion, but was from the beginning founded upon it. The progress of all political culture could not therefore but depend, if not solely, yet chiefly, on the caste of priests and their extension.

General explanation of the idea of a division into castes. The first origin of castes was from the difference of the tribes in a country, and of their mode of living.—This was more fully developed in despotic governments.—This theory, applied to Egypt and the Egyptian caste of priests, considers that caste to have been an original, more cultivated tribe.

5. The peculiarity of this caste was the worship of certain divinities, among which Ammon, Osiris, and Phtha, (whom the Greeks compared with their Jupiter, Bacchus, and Vulcan,) are the most remarkable. The extension of this worship, which was always connected with temples, furnishes the clearest vestiges of the extension of this caste, and these traces, in addition to the accounts of the Egyptians themselves, lead to the inference, that this caste was a tribe from the South, passing over Meroë into Ethiopia, constantly extending itself further by the establishment of inland colonies, that is of temples and what appertained to them; and finally making the worship of its Gods the ruling one in Egypt.

The correctness of this view is apparent from the express testimony respecting Thebes and Ammonium, as having had their origin in Meroe ; and this origin is further shown by the continuing worship of Ammon. In like manner Memphis and other places in the valley of the Nile are said to have been established by emigrants from Thebes.

6. This supposition, agreeing with the usual course of population, is still further confirmed by the very ancient division of the land into districts. This division was made according to the principal temples, which formed so many settlements of the caste of priests ; so that the inhabitants of each district also belonged to the chief temple, and joined in the religious worship which belonged to each.

7. Thus by the gradual extension of that cultivated tribe, to which not only the caste of priests but also of warriors, and perhaps even some others belonged, several small states seem to have been formed along the banks of the Nile, and of each of these states the central point was always such a settlement ; of which each at the same time comprised the neighboring native or even immigrating tribes. The bond, holding each individual state together, was therefore, as in most states in the childhood of the human race, a common worship, in which all the members of the state took part. But agriculture, (what in the more Southern Africa on account of the nature of the soil and climate could take place but in a slight degree or not at all,) was here the great support of civilization, and the advancement of it, as of the true foundation of states, became in consequence the chief object of the policy of the ruling caste.

The idea is not a just one, that the Egyptian caste of priests was in possession of mere speculative knowledge : for their knowledge had reference almost exclusively to practical life, and therefore became in their hands the instrumenta dominationis over the great mass, to which they were thus indispensably necessary, and which they thus preserved in subjection.—Explanation of the close relation, which their divinities, their astronomical and mathematical knowledge, bore to agriculture.

8. According to the catalogues of Manetho, these separate Egyptian states were first found in Upper, and Middle Egypt ; in the former, in Thebes, Elephantine, This and Heraclea ; in the latter in Memphis. It is only in his last division, that he mentions states in Lower Egÿpt ; and they were in Tanis, Mendes, Bubastus and Sebennytus.

To these states, therefore, the 330 kings belong, whose names after Menes the priests read to Herodotus ; and so too those, whom Diodorus mentioned as preceding Sesostris ; among whom Busiris the second is called the builder of Thebes ; and Uchoreus the builder of Memphis. Eusebius and Syncellus have preserved from Manetho many names of those kings ; which Marsham has taken great pains to compare and arrange.

9. Which of these states were cotemporary and how they succeeded each other, cannot be settled with certainty, from the want of a safe and continuing Chronology. Thebes was certainly one of the oldest, if not the very oldest ; older than Memphis, which was established from it. Several of them, according to the usual course of things, became powerful, and swallowed up the rest. At this early period Thebes and Memphis at least were distinguished.

Thus This and Elephantine appear to have been united with Thebes ; and the states in lower Egypt with Memphis.

10. It appears from the Mosaic accounts, that about as early as the age of Joseph, the state of 1700. Memphis (if indeed, he resided here, as it seems, and not in On, or Heliopolis,) embraced Middle and Lower Egypt; with a numerous and splendid court, a caste of priests and warriors, extensive agriculture, and various institutions, which give evidence of deeply rooted culture. But as Joseph established bond-service in this state, and the class of free possessors of the soil disappeared, since with the exception of the priests the king became the sole landed proprietor, greater dangers impended from future convulsions.

11. Meanwhile these convulsions came from abroad. Egypt, surrounded on all sides by Nomadic nations, often suffered from their invasions; sometimes from the South, sometimes from the East. But these incursions seem never to have been more violent or more continuing, than they were soon after the age of Joseph. Arabian Bedouins overwhelmed Lower Egypt; and their chiefs, named Hycsos by the Egyptians, established themselves here, fortified Awaris or Pelusium, and extended their dominion to Memphis, where they probably fixed their abode. They are described as oppressors of religion and the caste of the priests; but though they may originally have been so, yet if the age of Moses corresponds with theirs, they must gradually have adopted Egyptian manners and culture, somewhat as the Mongoles in China. Yet they seem never to have be-

come masters of Thebes and Upper Egypt; and the long continuing contest with them was probably seldom entirely remitted, or at least only for a short season.

The government of the Arabian Hycsos falls between 1700 and 1500; therefore during the same Moses, and the emigration of the Jews. When Josephus declares them to have continued 500 years, the long periods of the wars are probably included.

12. The Hycsos were finally overpowered and driven from Upper Egypt by the king Thumosis of Thebes. The consequence of this was the restoration of the freedom and independence of Egypt; and also of the continuing union in one kingdom; since the rulers of Thebes now became the masters of all Egypt. This expulsion of the Hycsos, in itself the most important national undertaking, could not but be the more deeply impressed on the memory of the nation, since by it the foundation of the following splendid period of the kingdom was laid.

The expulsion of the Hycsos appears to have been made a chief subject of art among the Egyptians, and to have been represented on one of the large temples of Thebes (De Non pl. 133.).

SECOND PERIOD.

From the Sesostridae to the monarchy of Psammetichus; from 1500 to 650.

The sources of this period remain the same; and the history still preserves the character of a hieroglyphic history. To this period belongs the series of kings, beginning with

Sesostris, preserved by Herodotus; as well as the series in Diodorus. They accord almost entirely, if we do but regard the series of Herodotus, not as uninterrupted, but as a fragmentary series, connected merely with public monuments. The following Table (in which we also insert those before Sesostris,) shows the coincidence.

According to Herodotus.

MENES.

Hereupon follow the 330 kings (of the preceding divided period); among them 18 Ethiopians, and one woman Nitocris.

Moeris.

Sesostris.

Pheron, his son.

Proteus, at the time of the Trojan war.

Rhampsinitus.

According to Diodorus.

MENES.

After him 52 successors in more than 1400 years.

Busiris I. and 8 successors, of whom the last

Busiris II. The builder of Thebes.

Osymandyas and 8 successors; of whom the last

Uchoreus, builder of Memphis.

Aegyptus, his grand-child.

After 12 ages

Moeris.

Seven ages.

Sesostris or Sesoosis.

Sesostris II. son of the former, who adopted the name of his father.

Chasm of many ages.

Amasis, and the Ethiopian Actisanus.

Mendes or Manes, the builder of the labyrinth.

Anarchy for five ages.

Proteus or Cetes, at the time of the Trojan war.

Remphis, son of the preceding.

Seven ages; during these Nileus, from whom the Nile bears its name.

According to Herodotus.

Cheops, who built the great pyramid.

Chephres, brother of the former, and builder of a pyramid.

Mycerinus, son of Cheops, and builder of a pyramid.

Asychis, the law-giver.

Anysis, who was blind.

Sabaco, the Ethiopian.

Anysis, the second time.

Sethos, a priest of Vulcan.

Dodecarchy.

Psammetichus, of Sais, sole ruler.

According to Diodorus.

Chemmis or Chembes, from Memphis, who built the great pyramid.

Cephren, brother of the former, and builder of a pyramid.

Mycerinus, son of Chemmis, and builder of a pyramid.

Bochoris, the law-giver.

Chasm for many ages.

Sabaco, the Ethiopian.

Dodecarchy.

Psammetichus, of Sais, sole ruler.

This comparison of Diodorus shows plainly, not only that the series of Herodotus is often interrupted, but also, that no regular chronology can be established, since Diodorus repeatedly leaves the number of ages unsettled. The comparison with the Trojan war appears to give one fixed date; but the visible effort of the priests in Herodotus to compare their traditions with those of the Greeks, may here likewise reasonably excite suspicion. We must therefore be content with establishing the dates of events in a general manner; but if the age of Sesostris, according to the greatest probability, is to be placed in the 15th century b. Ch. (See Zoëga de Obeliscis), the dates admit on the whole of being generally settled.

1. The following period till towards its close was the splendid age of Egypt, during which it seems hardly to be doubted that the whole kingdom was united in one state; for the kings are described to us as rulers of the whole. And what could be more natural, than that a period of great developement of strength, and consequently of

external conquests, should follow the expulsion of the foreigners? The seat of the government must have been Memphis, which by its situation was much better adapted to be so than Thebes; for the series of kings in Herodotus is arranged entirely after the monuments of Memphis, especially after the temple of Phtha; the enlargement of which by new buildings is mentioned of each of the kings with the exception of the builders of the Pyramids.

2. This splendor of the kingdom was principally the work of Sesostris, the son of Amenophis, who obtained the government not long after the beginning of this period. He became by way of eminence the great king of the Egyptians. By whom will the narration of his exploits, as they are celebrated in the traditions of the priests, and as the representations on the monuments appear even yet in part to exhibit them, be considered as literally true? And yet who is willing to call in question the actual existence of the prince, confirmed as it is by so many and so various monuments both within and without Egypt?

A critical estimate of the value of the narrations respecting the nine years expeditions and conquests of Sesostris (they were chiefly directed against the rich commercial countries,) appears to restrict those by land to Ethiopia, Asia Minor, and a part of Thrace; those by sea to Arabia Felix, and the neighboring coasts, perhaps as far as the Indian peninsula. Can these seem very improbable in an age, in which western Asia as yet contained no one large empire?—The great internal undertakings attributed to him, the vast buildings, the canals, the division of the country, and the collection of tribute according to an established scale, mark him out as the ruler of all Egypt.

3. Notwithstanding these great changes, the constitution retains the same general character; it is still an aristocracy of priests, united with monarchy. If the kings (like the Indian princes) did not belong to the caste of priests, they were still limited by it in many ways. A chief priest stood at their side; a religious ceremonial bound them in public business, as in private life; it was necessary for them to show their respect for the established worship by public monuments; the offices of state were in the hands of the priests. The personal character of the king had unquestionably great influence; but how strong must have been this aristocracy, to which even successful conquerors were obliged to do homage?

4. To this period doubtless belongs the erection, or at least the completion of many of the great monuments of Egypt. Herodotus mentions this particularly of the temples and pyramids in Memphis; Sesostris is praised as the one, who built and adorned the temples; even the monuments in Thebais appear in part to contain representations belonging to these times. The commencement may, it is true, have been much earlier; since not one, but many ages are needed to complete such works, as Upper Egypt has to exhibit. And what is more natural, where a temple is, in the strictest sense, the central point of the state?

5. At this time also, the interior relations of the nation, the division into castes, probably received their full developement. The caste of priests, in possession of all scientific knowledge, remained

for that very reason in possession of all the offices of the state. The caste of warriors could scarcely be fully matured before the unity of the kingdom, the caste of water-men, before the structure of canals; although the origin of all was much more ancient.

Comparison of the accounts of the division into castes in Herodotus and Diodorus. The foreign character, belonging to the accounts of Herodotus, speaks in his favor, apart from his greater antiquity.

6. A continuous history of the kingdom can so much the less be given, as even the fragments in Herodotus, his stories about Pheron, Rhampsinitus, Cheops, &c. can be nothing more than figurative narrations. And does the history of the blind Anysis signify any thing different from what Diodorus mentions without a figure, a great chasm, respecting which there exist no accounts?

7. The most prosperous period of the kingdom of the Pharaohs appears, therefore, to have been between 1500 and 1100 b. C.; (although according to Diodorus this was interrupted by a long period of anarchy). Yet this state of splendor changed towards the end of this period. A foreign conqueror from Ethiopia (probably from Meroe), Sabaco, reduced Egypt to subjection; and when he left it, a priest of Phtha, by the name of Sethos, contrary to usage, possessed himself of the throne; and is, therefore, considered a usurper. He defended the caste of priests; and the attack of
 714. the Assyrian Senacherib might have been so much the more dangerous, had he not been diverted by a pestilence in his army.

8. Yet still the Egyptian kingdom fell, and a multitude of separate governments (perhaps a separation into the original kingdoms,) took place, twelve princes possessing themselves of the government. This government, it seems, was intended to have a certain unity ; but they soon had differences among each other, and forced one of them, Psammetichus of Sais, to fly from among them. Yet supported by Greek and Carian mercenary troops, he was able to avenge himself, driving out his antagonists ; and also acquiring for him-
about
650.
 self the undivided rule.

THIRD PERIOD.

*From the sole reign of Psammetichus to the Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses ; b. C. 650 —525.**

Here the chief source of history is still Herodotus II. cap. 125, &c., but his narration ceases to be hieroglyphic in its character, and becomes purely historical. Under Psammetichus the caste of interpreters, at once the cicerones for strangers, and factors in the commerce between the Egyptians and the Greeks.—Writing with alphabetic characters was then not only known in Egypt, but also in general use, as the Egyptians had by this time obtained in the papyrus a material, well suited for ordinary

* Coteremporary : In Asia : Rise and fall of the Chaldee-Babylonian—and Rise of the Persian monarchy. — In Rome : kings, from Numa Pompilius to Servius Tullius. — In Athens : Draco —Solon—Pisistratus. — Among the Jews : last period and ruin of the kingdom of Judah ; and the Babylonian captivity.

writing. The assurance of Herodotus himself, that from this time the history is worthy of confidence, has nothing to excite surprise.

1. From this period Egypt continues uninterruptedly to form one kingdom; of which Memphis is still the chief city, although Sais in Lower Egypt is usually the royal residence.—Foreigners, especially Greeks, are received into Egypt; partly as mercenary troops and partly as merchants. This exercises an influence on the national character, and especially on the policy of the country. The spirit of conquest continues strong in the Egyptian kings, especially in reference to Asia; and this gives occasion to the establishment of a naval force, and to wars with the large Asiatic empires.—The influence of the caste of priests is diminished, but not ended, and there are proofs of the respect of the kings for them, in the building and beautifying of temples, especially of the temple of Phtha in Memphis.

2. Psammetichus †610. He was enabled to become sole ruler by means of Greek and Carian mercenaries; who now remain in the country as standing troops. The largest part of the Egyptian caste of priests, offended by this, emigrate to Ethiopia, and form a settlement there. The southern entrance to the temple of Phtha is built, and projects, for making conquests in Asia, commenced.

3. The successor of Psammetichus was his son

† Necho. His plans of conquest are enlarged.
594. The first foundation of a naval force is made; and a vain attempt to connect the Mediterranean sea with the Arabian Gulf by a canal.—The con-

quests in Asia extend as far as to the Euphrates; but all that had been gained by conquest is lost after the victory of Nebuchadnezzar in the battle of Circesium.—It is at the instance of Necho, that the circumnavigation of Africa is undertaken and successfully finished by the Phenicians.

606.

4. His successor and son Psammis. Conquests are made in the interior of Africa by an expedition against Ethiopia.

†

588.

5. Reign of Apries (Pharaoh-Ophrah of the Hebrews). Extended plans of conquest are formed partly against Asia, (Sidon is besieged and a naval battle fought against the Tyrians;) partly against Cyrene in Africa. The event is unsuccessful. This occasions a rebellion among the Egyptians, who were generally opposed to foreign wars; which were for the most part carried on by the aid of foreign mercenary troops. The rebellion was headed by Amasis. In the civil war, which Apries with his mercenaries now carried on against the Egyptians under Amasis, he loses his throne and his life; and with him the family of Psammetichus, which had till now been the ruling one, is entirely ruined.

†

563.

6. The usurper Amasis gains possession of the government; and although there was a powerful party opposed to him, which despised him for the meanness of his descent, he was yet able to maintain his ground, partly by his affability, partly by his devotedness to the priests.—His monuments are alike at Sais and at Memphis.—The Egyptians become better acquainted and more closely connected with the Greeks; partly

†

525.

by the marriage of their king to a Grecian woman ; but principally by opening the mouths of the Nile to Greek merchants, and conceding Naucratis as a place of deposit for their wares. The consequences of this were great and beneficial for Egypt ; which attained the greatest degree of prosperity during the long reign of Amasis. But even he was involved in disputes with the Persian conqueror Cyrus ; whose son and successor Cambyses undertook an expedition against Egypt, which Amasis barely escaped by a seasonable death.

7. His son Psammenitus, the last in the series of Egyptian Pharaohs, is conquered by Cambyses in the very first year of his reign. A single battle near Pelusium, and a short siege of Memphis were sufficient to overturn the throne of the Pharaohs, and reduce Egypt to a Persian province.
525. The hatred of the conqueror was chiefly felt by the powerful caste of priests ; and the persecution, which they were doomed to suffer, is to be ascribed rather to policy, than to blind religious fanaticism.

8. The condition and fate of Egypt as a Persian province. After the death of Cambyses it receives Persian governors, and forms, therefore, a satrapy by itself. As soon as the first storm had past, Egypt was mildly treated by the Persians. It paid a moderate tribute, to which are to be added some royal privileges, especially the fishery in the lake Moeris ; but still repeated insurrections broke out, which seem to have had their origin particularly in the hatred and the influence of the

caste of priests. The first took place under Darius Hystaspis, and was quelled by Xerxes. The consequence of it was the increase of the tribute. The second insurrection with the assistance of the Athenians under king Inarus during the reign of Artaxerxes I. was quelled by Megabyzus. The third insurrection took place under Darius II., which was of longer continuance especially on account of the assistance of the Greeks; and by which the throne of the Pharaohs was in some measure restored.

The revolt of the Egyptians lasted till 354. In this period we find named as kings: Amyrtaeus †408. Psammetichus about 400. Nephreus about 397. Pausiris †375. Nectanebus I. †365. Tachos †363. Nectanebus II. overcome by Artaxerxes III. 354.

CARTHAGINIANS.

Sources. The first great commercial and at the same time conquering republic, which occurs in history, is unquestionably a phenomenon, particularly meriting the attention of the historical inquirer. But unfortunately our knowledge of the early history of Carthage is very imperfect, since we have no writer, who has made it the chief subject of his work. The Greek and Roman historians had for their immediate subject the history of their own country, and mentioned Carthage, only as it stood in connection with it. This applies as much to Polybius and Diodorus as to Livy and Appian; and the accounts of Justin, who alone speaks of the earlier fate of Carthage, are, it is to be regretted, very meagre; yet taken from Theopompus (cf.

Comment. de fontibus Justini in Commentat. Soc. Gotting. Vol. xv.). As we are here deserted by Herodotus, we are left entirely without a writer, who had seen Carthage in its splendor; Polybius saw only its ruin; the rest wrote at a far later period. However, though a connected history of Carthage cannot be given, the great features in the character of this state admit of being traced.

Modern writers on Carthage:

Hendrich de republica Carthaginiensium. 1664. A useful compilation.

Geschichte der Republik Carthago, in zwei Theilen. Frankfort. 1781. — Almost nothing but a history of wars.

Dampmartin Histoire de la rivalité de Carthage et de Rome. T. I. II. 8 vo. — Very superficial.

The chapter on the Carthaginians in Heeren's Ideen, &c. Vol. II. 1815.

The history of Carthage can be divided with most convenience into three periods. I. From the building of the city to the beginning of the wars with Syracuse; from 880—480 b. C. II. From the beginning of the wars with Syracuse to the beginning of the wars with Rome; from 480—264. III. From the beginning of the wars with Rome to the destruction of Carthage; from 264—146.

FIRST PERIOD.

*From the building of Carthage to the wars with Syracuse; from 880—480.**

1. The foundation and first history of Carthage was, like all other very early events of national importance, veiled by long traditions in the gar-

* Cotemporary: in the interior of Asia: Empire of the Assyrians, of the Babylonians, and the first part of the Persian em-

ment of romance. The traditions respecting its pretended founder Dido, cannot be authenticated as pure historic truth; yet they would seem to justify the inference that political disturbances in the mother city Tyre, occasioned a party of emigrants to direct their steps to North Africa, where several Phenician cities had already been established. Here they obtained permission to build a city, in consideration of an annual tribute to be paid to the natives. Its situation was so happily chosen, that it depended only on the natives to raise it to the prosperity, it afterwards attained.

2. Slow as the first growth of Carthage probably was, it stood at the end of this first period in its greatness, as the mistress of a large territory in Africa, and of still more extensive foreign possessions. The territory of Carthage in Africa began by the subjection of the neighboring native tribes and the foundation of colonies in their territory of Carthaginian citizens; who gradually became amalgamated with the natives, and accustomed themselves to agriculture and the habits of settled life. The inhabitants of this fruitful country which extended to the south as far as the Triton lake, were in every respect Carthaginian subjects.

3. But their relations with the old Phenician cities on the coast were different, especially with Utica; for although Carthage preserved a preponderance, yet it by no means usurped an arbitrary superiority, but rather stood at the head of a league;

pire. Among the Greeks: Period from Lycurgus to Themistocles. Among the Romans: Period of the kings and of the republic to the introduction of tribunes of the people.

although this guardianship may often have degenerated into oppression.

4. In consequence of a treaty with the neighboring republic Cyrene, the Carthaginians possessed the whole country between the Syrtes, whose inhabitants, the Lotophagi and Nasamones continued, it is true, to be Nomades, but from their commerce with the interior of Africa were of the utmost importance for Carthage.

5. A foreign colonial system, followed by a system of foreign conquests, was formed by the Carthaginians. We can perceive a visible effort on their part, to gain possession of islands, and to subject them to their dominion. All islands in the western part of the Mediterranean lay directly within their plan, which they completely executed as to Sardinia, the Balearian, and other smaller islands, perhaps also Corsica, but only partially in Sicily. Even the Canary isles and Madeira appear to have entirely belonged to them. On the continent, partly in Spain and partly on the Western coast of Africa, previous to the wars with Rome, their colonies commonly consisted of single cities. In reference to them their principles were, to tread in the footsteps of their ancestors, the Phenicians, and to make their colonies so small and limited, that they could always hold them in strict dependence.

6. The merit of having extended the territory of Carthage by large conquests, belongs especially to the house of Mago, who himself, and after him his two sons and six grandsons, founded the dominion of the republic in Sicily, Sardinia, and Af-

rica, at the very time, when Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius were founding the Persian monarchy, with which even then Carthage stood in connection, 550—480 b. C. It is not therefore till the fourth century of their political existence, that the Carthaginians appear as great conquerors, and it is in the same period that the first naval battle is mentioned, which they fought with the Phoceans.

To this period belongs no less the establish-^{539.}ment of their colonies beyond the columns of Hercules, on the African coast by Hanno, on the Spanish by Himilcon, both probably grandsons of Mago. To this period also we must ascribe the first commercial treaty, which they formed with Rome, in which they appear as already masters of^{509.} Sardinia, of Africa, and a part of Sicily.

7. These conquests and their defence rendered it necessary to form and maintain large fleets and armies, which last according to the usual custom of nations, which are alike commercial and warlike, consisted for the most part of mercenary troops. But no nation ever exercised this method to the same extent with them, for half Africa and Europe supplied them with warriors.—Description of a Carthaginian army and developement of the advantages and disadvantages of these regulations.—As to their naval force, the state kept very numerous fleets, together with a multitude of (probably public) slaves, who were used as galley-slaves.

8. The internal constitution of Carthage, as in all rich commercial states, became an aristocracy, which was founded both upon nobility and wealth,

but yet always retained something of popular government. The affairs of the state were entrusted to the two Suffetes or kings, who probably held their offices for life, and to the Senate, in which a still more select body was contained. The choice of the magistrates was with the people, which shared the legislative power with the Suffetes. The civil and military power were kept distinct; the commanders were not, as in Rome, at the same time magistrates; but had at their side a committee from the senate, on which they were dependent.

9. To defend the constitution against the attacks of too powerful aristocrats, especially of the military chieftains, when the splendor of the conquests of the Magos seemed to threaten the republic with a military despotism, and as just before their time Malchus, a leader of the army, had made an actual attempt to reduce Carthage to subjection, the grand political tribunal of the hundred men was established; which did indeed effect the purpose designed; but afterwards itself usurped a power, which degenerated into actual despotism.

10. Of the financial regulations of the Carthaginians we are least informed. The following seem to have been the chief sources of their public revenues. 1. The tribute, which they collected from the allied cities, and from their African subjects. The former consisted in money, the latter chiefly in natural products, of which the amount was fixed at will, so that in urgent cases half the produce was required. 2. The same was the case with their foreign provinces, especially Sardinia.

3. The tribute which was paid by the Nomadic tribes in the Regio Syrtica, and sometimes also on the west side. 4. The customs, which were collected with great rigor not in Carthage only, but in all the colonies. 5. The gains from their rich mines, especially in Spain.—In considering their finances we must not forget, that many of the nations with whom they had commerce, or who fought in their armies, had no coin.

11. Regulation and extent of their commerce. They desired to preserve in the West a monopoly of commerce; hence the limitation of their colonies; and, as far as practicable, the most careful exclusion of all foreigners from their places of commercial business. Their traffic was carried on partly by sea, and partly by land. Their commerce by sea was founded upon their colonies, and certainly extended beyond the Mediterranean, as far as the coast of Britain, as well as of Guinea.—Their trade by land was conducted by caravans, which were chiefly formed through the Nomadic nations between the two Syrtes; and extended to the West, to Ammonium and Upper Egypt; on the South, to the land of the Garamantes, and further into the interior of Africa.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the beginning of the wars with Syracuse to the beginning of the wars with Rome; 480—264.

1. During these two centuries the possession of all Sicily was the chief object of the Carthaginian policy, which they pursued with a singular obsti-

nacy, and which they were often on the point of attaining, though they never entirely succeeded. The increasing greatness of Syracuse, which likewise strove for the possession of the whole island, caused the national hatred, which now arose between the Sicilian Greeks and the Carthaginians.

2. The first attempt was made in the year 480, and was occasioned by the alliance with king Xerxes I. on his invasion of Greece. But when Themistocles routed the Persians at Salamis, Gelon of Syracuse defeats the Carthaginians at Himera, and compels them to a disgraceful peace.

3. After this defeat there follows a peaceful period of 70 years, during which we know little respecting Carthage. We can only say, that the dispute with Cyrene respecting boundaries was probably conducted during this period and decided in favor of Carthage; and generally, their dominion in Africa was extended and confirmed by domestic wars.

4. But the accession of Dionysius I. to the throne of Syracuse, and the ambitious project, pursued by himself and his successors, of reducing all Sicily, and Graecia Magna under their dominion, could not but kindle the fire of war, of which the flame henceforth was for a short season repressed, only to break out anew with the greater vehemence.

Repeated and most bloody wars with Dionysius I. between 410 and 368, though neither can entirely reduce the other. The conditions of the last peace were, that each should preserve what he had. Second commercial treaty with Rome 348.

The internal commotions in Syracuse during and after the reign of Dionysius II, were craftily turned to account, to promote their end ; but they were baffled by the heroism of Timoleon 345—340.

A new and formidable war arises with Agathocles, which was transferred from Sicily to Africa, and finally was ended victoriously for Carthage, 311—307.

Even the war with Pyrrhus, 277—375, whose ambition occasioned an alliance between Carthage and Rome, finally increased their superiority in Sicily, and their perseverance and cunning in taking advantage of circumstances would probably have at last secured to them success in their designs, had not the seed of the wars with Rome at the same time been sown.

5. We have no information as to the manner, in which these Sicilian wars operated upon the interior of the state. They were probably considered as convenient channels, for conveying away from Carthage all the materials of discontent and rebellion ; (although attempts were twice made, though in vain, by the nobles to overthrow the constitution ; first by Hanno 340, and afterwards by Bomilcar 308 ;) and in the beginning of the contest with Rome the republic is possessed of such formidable power, that even the finances of the state, on which the most depended, do not appear to have been in a bad condition. And of what moment was it to Carthage, whether there were a hundred thousand barbarians more or less in the world, when there was no scarcity of others who were to be bought, nor of money with which to buy them ?

THIRD PERIOD.

From the beginning of the wars with Rome to the destruction of Carthage, 264—146.

1. The wars between Carthage and Rome were the unavoidable consequence of the passion for aggrandizement of two neighboring nations, when their conquests came to meet. It is, therefore, rather an indifferent question, who commenced hostilities; and if Rome cannot be freed from this reproach, we cannot refrain from remarking, that according to the principles of sound policy, the security of Italy was scarcely compatible with the sole dominion of the Carthaginians over all Sicily.

First war with Rome 264—141 (23 years) carried on for the possession of Sicily, and decided almost beforehand by Hiero's passing over to the side of the Romans. Its history will be given below, in the Roman history.

2. The war cost the republic Sicily and the dominion of the Mediterranean sea, and thus the fate of its other foreign possessions was decided beforehand. But in the first movements the greatest danger proceeded from the entire exhaustion of its finances, which cannot excite surprise after so many fleets that were ruined and new ones built, after so many armies destroyed and others hired in their stead. Such a contest, as this, Carthage had never known; and the immediate consequences were more dreadful, than the war itself.

3. The impossibility of paying their mercenary troops is followed by a mutiny among them, which soon assumes the form of an insurrection on the part of their subjects, who had been most grievously oppressed in the war; and the consequence

was a civil war of three years and a half, which would probably have spared the Romans the trouble of destroying Carthage, had it not been saved by the heroic spirit of Hamilcar.

The war, which continued from 240 to 237, still had for the state the most lasting consequences ; since it led to the feud between Hamilcar and Hanno the Great ; whereby Hamilcar was induced to seek in a popular party a support against the senate.

4. The insurrection, however, extended to Sardinia, and was followed by the loss of this most important island, which, contrary to the treaty of peace, was, under menaces, seized upon by the Romans, in the mere pride of superior strength. ²³⁷

5. The influence of the Barcas, supported by the popular party against the Senate, now obviously gains the superiority in Carthage ; and the first fruit of it is, the new great project of seeking in the conquest of Spain, where the Carthaginians already had possessions and commercial connections, a compensation for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. It was obviously in its origin the project of the Barcas, to support their family and their party ; but the Spanish mines were soon to furnish the republic with the means of renewing the contest with Rome.

6. In nine years, in which Hamilcar, and in eight, in which his son-in-law and successor Hasdrubal had the command (237—221), the whole of Southern Spain, as far as the Iberus, was partly by peaceful negociations, partly by force, brought under the dominion of the Carthaginians ; and noth-

226. ing but a compact with the Romans, in which the Iberus is fixed as the boundary, and the freedom of Saguntum made a condition, impedes further progress. Hasdrubal crowns his victories as a general and a statesman by founding New Carthage (Carthagena), destined to be the chief seat of the Carthaginian power in the newly conquered country. When Hasdrubal in the year 221 falls by assassination, the party of the Barcas succeeds in procuring the appointment of the son of Hamilcar, Hannibal, who was but one and twenty years old, to be his successor. He found in Spain every thing matured for executing the hereditary purpose of his family, a new war with Rome; and the whole manner, in which it was promoted, shows how superior was the influence of the Barcas at that time in Carthage. If the republic had attended to the marine with the same zeal, that their general did to the land service, the lot of Rome might have fallen differently.

Second war with Rome from 218—201 (17 years); at first carried on in Italy and Spain, and finally, from 203, in Africa itself. See the history of it below in the Roman History.

7. This second war, until the theatre of it was transferred to Africa, cost the republic by no means the same efforts as the first; for it was chiefly conducted at the expense of Spain and Italy. And yet a strong party, with Hanno at its head, desired peace. Were they not right in doing so? But the Barcas obviously did not desire it; and their influence preserved the preponderance. The military leader, who was able by his

policy not less than by his arms, to maintain himself for fifteen years, in the country of his powerful enemies, almost without any support from home, compels us to admiration. But the question, whether during the course of hostilities a favorable moment for making peace was never neglected, cannot be directly answered in the negative. But for this the conqueror at Cannae was severely enough punished by the failure of his most cherished designs.

8. The second peace with Rome deprived Carthage of all its territory out of Africa, as well as of its fleet, which was delivered up to the Romans. It was to remain a mere commercial state, under Roman guardianship. But the most dangerous foe to Carthage was raised up in Africa itself by the condition of the peace, which constituted Masinissa the king of Numidia. His efforts, to transform his nomadic subjects into cultivators of the soil and dwellers in cities, could not of itself but change the whole previous military system of Carthage; and the Roman policy had provided, that there should be abundant causes of contest by the indefinite manner, in which the article in his favor in the last treaty of peace had been expressed.

9. Even after the unhappy peace the party of the Barcas preserves its influence, and Hannibal is placed as chief magistrate at the head of the republic. He makes an attempt to reform the constitution of the state and the finances by destroying the oligarchy of the centumvirate. The disorder of the financial system was the consequence of this attempt. Although the first effort was perfectly successful, it soon became apparent,

that aristocratic parties cannot be annihilated so readily as armies.

The decline of the Carthaginian constitution had been occasioned by the democratic faction, by means of which the Barcas themselves were first elevated. By it the senate and the magistrates were deprived of their rightful consequence, which the *ordo judicum* (most probably the high court of the hundred) had assumed, and, as the supreme inquisition of the state, of which the members were constituted for life, exercised an oppressive despotism. This body supplied its vacancies from among those, who had been the administrators of the finances, and with these it shared with impunity the revenues of the state. Hannibal rent asunder this web of oligarchy by a law, which made the continuance of office for a year and not for life. — Upon the reform of the finances, which ensued, it appeared, that even after all wars and losses the income of the state was not only sufficient for the ordinary expenses and the payment of the tribute to Rome, but even left a surplus fund. Within ten years Carthage was able, of its own accord, to offer to pay at once the whole tribute, which it had been proposed to pay by several instalments.

10. The discomfited party, which now had the same interest as Rome, forms a union with the Roman; and betrays to the Romans the plan of Hannibal, too early made public, of renewing the war against Rome, in conjunction with Antiochus the Great, the king of Syria. A Roman embassy, sent under another pretext, was to demand the delivering up of Hannibal; and it was only by a secret flight to king Antiochus, that he was able

195. to escape to Asia, where he now became the mainspring of the war with Rome, without however succeeding according to his wish in engaging the Carthaginian republic to take part in it,

See below the history of Syria

11. The removal of Hannibal placed Carthage again under the guardianship of the Romans, who knew well how to preserve their influence by a crafty use of the factions under an appearance of magnanimity. Even the patriotic party, from the rash steps which they several times were unadvisedly led to take, especially against Masinissa and his adherents, seems to have been an instrument in the hands of Rome.

12. Disputes with Masinissa arose, and the consequence of them was the gradual division of the Carthaginian territory in Africa. The manner, in which this territory had been acquired, made it easy to find claims to each part of it, and the mediation of Rome, which at times was designedly no mediation, and at times a partial one, constantly secured the possession to the Numidian.

As early as 199 a convention was made with Masinissa for 50 years. But in 193 the rich province of Emporia was lost.—In 182 another province, of which the name is not mentioned, was lost, Masinissa laying claims to it on a right inherited from his father.—The province Tysca with fifty cities was taken away about 174. To this time probably belongs the embassy of Cato, who returns offended, because his decision was not accepted, and forms the design of destroying Carthage.—New disputes arise in 152. The party of Masinissa is driven from Carthage; in consequence of this a war ensues, in which the king, although ninety years old, commanding in person, beats the Carthaginians, and almost utterly destroys by famine and the sword the army of Hasdrubal, which was immediately shut up; whilst the Roman envoys, who had arrived as mediators, following their secret instructions, play the part of spectators.

13. It is clear, that the hatred existing between

Cato and Scipio Nasica and their respective parties, chiefly advanced the plan for the destruction of Carthage, and that it was matured for complete execution by the last victories of Masinissa ; but it is yet equally difficult to develope entirely the series of faithless deeds, by which the termination of the great tragedy was prepared before the declaration of war, that was now to proceed from Rome. Was the report, which Cato on his return made of the reviving power of Carthage, in conformity with truth ? Was Ariobarzanes, the grandson of Syphax, who now suddenly appears upon the stage, and who is said to have collected a Numidian army in favor of Carthage against Masinissa, was he perhaps instigated by Rome ? Was the unquiet Gisgo, who first excites the people to insult the Roman envoys, and then himself saves them just in proper season, was he in Roman pay ? All this may be conjectured, though it cannot be proved. The conduct of Rome after the rupture at least can justify every suspicion, respecting what previously took place. For the rest ; the whole history of the last period sufficiently shows, that the downfall of Carthage was prepared not so much by the fallen character of the nation in general, as by the spirit of faction and the avarice of a number of grandees, which the foreign policy, itself acting from blind passion, knew how to turn to its advantage with a cunning as concealed as it was base.

Third war with Rome and destruction of Carthage, 150—146. See below, the Roman history.

SECOND DIVISION.

HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

From 560 until 330 before Christ.

Sources. Preservation of historical information among the Persians themselves in their annals; their origin and character. In consequence of their loss, we must draw from foreign authors, who in part used those annals. 1. The Grecian. Their authority as contemporary writers, but not always sufficiently acquainted with the East. *a.* Ctesias. His history of the court of Persia drawn from the Persian annals, but only preserved in the extracts of Photius, would be a leading work, did we possess it entire. *b.* Herodotus, who probably in several sections made use of similar sources. *c.* Of Xenophon, not only his *Anabasis* and *Hellenika* belong here, but also his *Cyropaedia* or delineation of a happy empire, and a perfect ruler according to the ideas of the East, under the model of Cyrus, so far as it is interwoven with genuine historical information. *d.* Diodorus, &c. 2. Jewish authors. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and especially the book of Esther, as a faithful description of the Persian court and life at court. 3. The accounts of the later Persian historians, especially of Mirkhond in the 13th century, can have but little weight, in the scales of criticism, but are interesting, in as much as they show us the ideas, which the inhabitants of the East have concerning their early history.

The modern writers of Persian history are mostly those of ancient history in general. A view of Persian history, taken from oriental sources, will be found in the *Hallische Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, Part IV. — Besides :

Brissonius de regno Persarum. 1591. 8 vo. A very careful compilation.

The chapter concerning the Persians in *Heeren's Ideen*, &c. Vol. I. Part I. 1815.

1. Condition of the Persian nation before Cyrus : as mountaineers subjected to the Medes in the mountainous parts of the territory of Persia, who all, or at least the greater part of them, led a nomadic life. Division into ten tribes, among which that of the *Pasargadae*, as the noblest and ruling tribe, will be principally remarkable in the following history. Thence also their constitution, as tribes, the traces of which remained visible in their whole subsequent history. Constant division of the tribes from one another, in respect to their manner of life, even in the most flourishing times of the Persian States, into three noble or war tribes, three agricultural, and four pastoral. Proof founded upon that, that the history of the reigning nation of the Persians is properly a history of the nobler tribes and especially of that of the *Pasargadae*.

2. The personal history of Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, was concealed even in the time of Herodotus under such a romantic garb, that it was impossible to discover the unmixed truth. But the course of the revolution produced by him, was, on the whole, evidently the same as that of all other empires founded in Asia. As

Dsingischan was elected, at a later period, the chief of all the Mogolian hordes, Cyrus was chosen chief of all the Persian tribes, at whose head, he came forward as a mighty conqueror, at the time of the decay of the empire of the Medes and Babylonians in the interior of Asia, and when the kingdom Lydia, under Croesus, had as yet gained no firmness. about 561.

Descent of Cyrus from the family of Achaemenes, (Dsem-schit ?) of the tribe of the Pasargadae, which ever after remained the reigning family.

3. Foundation of the Persian dominion by the ruin of the Median Bactrian empire, after the victory over Astyages, at Pasargada. Its rapid extension by farther conquests. Subjugation of western Asia Minor, after the victory over Croesus, by Cyrus himself, and the seizure of the Grecian colonies by his generals. Conquest of Babylon and all its provinces. The cities of Phenicia surrender of their own accord. Already under Cyrus, the boundaries of the Persian empire were extended from the Mediterranean to the Oxus and Indus in the South of Asia; but the expedition against the nomadic nations, in the plains of Middle Asia, fails and brings destruction upon Cyrus himself. 561.
about 557.
538.

In relating the several wars carried on by Cyrus, Herodotus and Ctesias vary. But in the principal facts they agree, and indeed their variance is not always direct contradiction.

4. Immediate consequence of this great revolution, both to the conquerors and the conquered. Among the former, even under Cyrus, the refinement and luxury of the Medes as well as the Me-

dian laws and religion of the state, and with it the religious caste of the Magi as the defender of that religion, were introduced, and the whole form of the Persian court is modelled after that of the Medes.

Account of the laws of Zoroaster and the religion of the Magi according to the books of Zendavesta. How far the doctrines of Zoroaster became the prevailing doctrines among the Persians? Proof that they were first adopted by the nobler tribes only, especially by that of the Pasargadae. Great and beneficial influence which they exerted upon the improvement of the country and its culture.

Zend-avesta, ouvrage du Zoroastre traduit en François sur l'original Zend par Anquetil du Perron ; Paris. 1771. 4to.—The work has been greatly enriched in the German translation by the additional criticisms.

Zendavesta, Zoroaster's lebendiges Wort — von J. L. Kleuker. 1776. III. 4to. and Anhang zum Zendavesta, 1 vol. in 2 parts. 1782. 2nd vol. in 3 parts. 1783. Compare the inquiries respecting Zoroaster in *Comimentationibus Soc. Gotting.* by Meiners and Tychsen. And in Heeren's *Ideen*, &c. Vol. I. 1815. The work of

Hyde de religione veterum Persarum. Oxon. 1700. 4to. full of learned research, first gave an impulse to inquiry.

Die heiligen Sagen des Orients von J. G. Rhode. Breslau. 1821. The chief work for the critical examination of the Zendavesta, the religion of the Magi, and the Median Persian antiquity ; rich in new views and new solutions of difficulties.

5. First internal regulations of the Persian empire under Cyrus. No new general organization, but principally, the continuance of the constitutions existing among the conquered, who were obliged to pay tribute. Besides the generals, who remained in the lands of the vanquished, with nu-

merous armies, there were appointed royal officers, for the collection of the tribute. For the same purpose, orders for weakening the warlike nations by an effeminate education; as among the Lydians.

6. Cyrus leaves two sons, of whom the elder, Cambyses, succeeds him as king, and the younger Smerdis, (according to Ctesias Tanyoxarces) as lord of Bactria and the eastern countries, free of tribute, but who was soon after put to death at the instigation of his elder brother.

7. Under Cambyses, the conquests of ^{529 to} Persia are extended to Africa. ^{522.} Egypt becomes a Persian province, and the nearest part of Libya together with Cyrene surrenders voluntarily. But the double expedition against the opulent trading places, against Ammonium in the West and against Meroe in the South, is completely unsuccessful, and that against Carthage cannot be undertaken because the Tyrians refuse their assistance at sea. A colony of 6000 Egyptians is transplanted to Susiana.

8. The cruelty, of which Cambyses is accused in Egypt, was exercised towards the powerful caste of priests rather than the nation, and had its foundation rather in political than religious relations; and in general, there is reason to be careful of giving credit to the evil, that is told of Cambyses, since we know him only from the accounts of the Egyptian priests, his enemies.

9. The usurpation of the pretended Smerdis (or Tanyoxarces) was an attempt of the Magi to replace upon the throne a Median dynasty, by

means of an intrigue, carried on in the interior of the Seraglio. It accidentally cost Cambyses his life, after a reign of 7 1-2 or, according to Ctesias, 18 years.

10. The false Smerdis maintains his pretensions eight months, while he endeavors to gain the good will of the conquered nations, by a remission of all tribute for three years. But the discovery of the imposition causes seven of the principal Persians to form a conspiracy, which costs the usurper his life.

11. The interior organization of the empire could be improved as little under Cambyses, who was absent in war the greater part of the time, as under the short reign of Pseudo Smerdis. For that reason, the regulations made under Cyrus still continue. But the introduction of the courtly etiquette of the Medes among the reigning tribe of the Persians, and the transition of these last to settled habitations, render necessary for the court of the king, the building of capitals, of which the one at Persepolis, (see above page 19) probably begun under Cyrus, was finished under Darius and Xerxes.

The best sketches of the antiquities of Persepolis, equally remarkable for their architecture, their sculpture, and their inscriptions in the letters of the arrow headed alphabet, are found in the travels of Chardin and Niebuhr.—Explanations :

Herder's Persepolis. In his complete works, Vol. I.

Heeren's explanation in his *Ideen, &c.* Part I. Vol. I. 1815.—For explaining the inscriptions the most has been done by :

De Sacy *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse ; à Paris, 1793, 4to.* only that they are limited to the expla-

nation of the later antiquities, from the times of the Sassanidae. The deciphering of the ancient Persian writings with the arrow headed letters, has, after the attempts of Tychsen, Münter, and Lichtenstein, been carried the furthest by :

Grotefend über die Erklärung der Keilschriften, concerning the explanation of the inscriptions in arrow-headed letters, especially the inscriptions at Persepolis, in the appendix to Heeren's *Ideen, &c.* Vol. II. 1815. with the annexed alphabet of the Zenda.

12. After a very remarkable deliberation between the seven conspirators concerning the form of government to be established, Darius, the son of Hystaspis, of the family of the Achaemenidae, was elevated to the throne by an oracle, and endeavored to strengthen his rights still more, by marriage with two of the daughters of Cyrus.

13. The reign of Darius which contin- ^{522 to}
ued for thirty-six, or according to Ctesias ^{486.}
thirty-one years, is equally remarkable for the external as well as the internal relations of the Persian empire; for its external relations, on account of the great campaigns and conquests by which the kingdom of Persia acquired its greatest compass, and for its internal, on account of several important regulations which were made for its interior organization.

14. As the expeditions of the Persians under Cyrus had been directed against the countries of Asia, and under Cambyses against Africa, those under Darius I. were principally against Europe, although the jurisdiction of Persia was also extended in the other two quarters of the globe. But even under Darius I. the wars with the Greeks arose,

which became so destructive to the Persians and which were continually nourished and continued by the emigrant or fugitive Grecian nobles, who found an asylum at the Persian court, and were able to make a faction for themselves. First example of the kind shortly after the accession of Darius in the person of Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, who had been master of Samos, which island is taken at his request by the Persians and delivered up to him after an almost entire extirpation of the male inhabitants.

15. Great rebellion in Babylon, which cannot yet grow accustomed to foreign government. After a siege of 21 months Darius is enabled to enter it by a stratagem. The more powerful this
516. city was, and the more important the possession of it, so much the greater from this time was the care with which it was watched by the kings of Persia, who even themselves passed a part of the year there.

16. First great expedition of Darius against the Scythians in the countries north of the Black Sea, in order to revenge the former invasion of Asia
513. by the Scythians, and therefore considered as a general national undertaking. Unfortunate as was the termination of the expedition itself against the Scythians, undertaken as it appears on a very large scale, since the arid deserts of the Ukraine compelled the Persians to return, they still maintained their power in Thrace and Macedonia and kept a firm footing in Europe.

It was the peculiar nature of the Persian national wars or great expeditions, that all the conquered people were

obliged to participate in them, whilst other wars were carried on by Persian troops alone.

17. More fortunate than the expedition to the Danube was the one to the Indus; after Scylax a Grecian had been obliged to make a voyage of discovery down the river. The mountainous countries on the northern Indus now come under the dominion of Persia, and the Indus itself becomes the boundary of the Persian empire. At the same time that Darius is himself fighting near the Danube and the Indus, Aryandes his governor in Egypt, in order to revenge the murder of king Arcesilaus, undertakes an expedition against Barca, which resulted in the destruction of the city and the transplantation of the inhabitants to Asia.

18. But much more important consequences attended the revolt, insignificant as it appeared at first, which the Asiatic Greeks stirred up at the instigation of Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, who was privately supported at the court of Persia by his relation, the discontented Histiaeus. The part that the Athenians took in it, which caused the burning of Sardis, was the origin of the national hatred between the Persians and the European Grecians, and of the whole series of wars resulting from it. The insurgents indeed were this time subdued, but the naval battle near the island of Lada would hardly have had such an unfortunate issue, had not their union been destroyed beforehand by the artifices and gold of the Persians. Thus ended the war with the overthrow of the Ionians and the destruction of their

flourishing capital, Miletus, which then shared the commerce of the world with Tyre and Carthage.

19. First attack upon Greece, especially Athens.

490. Darius, who had been exasperated against the Athenians by the burning of Sardis, is excited still more by the banished ruler of Athens, the son of Pisistratus, Hippias, who had fled to the Persian court, and was evidently the soul of the whole undertaking. Although the first
492. preliminary attack under Mardonius was defeated by a storm, the following master expedition was undertaken and executed with so much skill and knowledge of the country, that we cannot but recognize the leading hand of Hippias. Even
490. the battle at Marathon, which, on the side
29 Sept. of the Persians, almost appears to have been nothing more than a false attack, would not have decided the war, had not the activity of Miltiades frustrated the principal attack of the Persians upon Athens.

20. If Darius I. weakened the empire by these foreign wars, while he sought to extend it, his merit, on the contrary, for the regulation of the interior, is so much the greater. His reign is the period that must once happen to every nomadic people, which has arrived at power and advances to civil improvement, when the attempt becomes visible to introduce such a constitution, as however can only be gradually developed.

21. Division of the kingdom into 20 Satrapies, and connected with that, the regular assignment of the tribute; at first, however, only by a division according to the different tributary

tribes, from which by degrees a geographical division arose, in which the former division of the countries was for the most part retained.

Proof that the division into Satrapies was at first only a division for the sake of the civil government, separate from the military power, and for the collection of the taxes. Duties of the Satraps; care for the improvement of the country, agriculture especially, and the collection of the various tributes, with the execution of all royal orders, which related to provincial affairs. It was a misuse, that afterwards the command of the troops also was committed to their satraps. Other means for preserving the dependence of the satraps. Royal secretaries placed at their side, to whom the royal orders were first directed. Periodical visitation of the provinces by the immediate deputies of the king, or by the king himself, and then with an army in his train. The appointment of couriers throughout the whole empire for the maintenance of a sure and quick communication with the provinces, such as they existed in the Mogolian provinces; (but no post, since this arrangement served only for the court.)

22. The financial affairs of Persia preserve continually the peculiar character, which mostly arises from the empire's being founded by a victorious nomadic people, who live at the cost of the vanquished, and from the despotical form of the constitution.

Collection of the tribute, mostly in natural productions, for the use of the court and army, and in precious metals, gold and silver, not coined but in bullion. The treasures arising therefrom, constitute the private property of the king. Several other privileges of the king. Manner of discharging the public expenses, by references to the proceeds of one or of several places.

23. Organization of the military system, which sprang from the original condition of the nation, and the present necessity of keeping in subjection the distant conquered countries, by means of troops constantly supported in them.

Military organization of the Persian nation by a universal decimal division. Royal troops, partly in the country after the division of the empire into military cantons, partly garrisons in the cities which differed from the former. Manner of supporting the troops, at the cost and from the tribute of the provinces. Immediate origin of mercenary, and especially Greek troops, among the Persians, and its detrimental consequences. Domestic troops of the satraps and the grandees. Regulations in case of a general levy in the national wars. Management of the naval force of Persia, which consisted principally of the fleets of the Phenicians and frequently of those of the Asiatic Greeks.

24. Since the time of Darius, the court life of the kings first attained its complete developement, and the government soon becomes a government, emanating entirely from the Seraglio. Nevertheless, the habits of the kings still retained a tinge of the Nomadic life, since, with the changes in the seasons, they, together with their courts, which either wholly or principally consisted of the tribe of the Pasargadae, removed from one place of abode to another.

The usual places of abode were Babylon, Susa and Ec-batana. Foundation of Persepolis at this time, as a sepulchre for the kings. The court supported from the most valuable productions of each province : the strict etiquette, thence arising, at the table of the king. Interior management of the Seraglio. Influence of the eunuchs and of the queen dowager upon the government.

25. Darius was now making provision for a new war against Athens for the accomplishment of his revenge, when a rebellion which breaks out in Egypt, prevents him from executing it, and he dies after he had appointed for his successor Xerxes I., his eldest son by his second marriage; as the grandson of Cyrus, at the instigation of his mother Atossa, whose power was supreme.

26. Xerxes I., 486—465, a prince, who, educated in the Seraglio, only understands how to represent the royal dignity. Subjugation of the Egyptians and severe treatment of them by the Satrap Achaemenes, the brother of Xerxes.

27. The famous expedition of Xerxes against Greece is occasioned by the cabals and at the instigation of the Grecian emigrants, of the Pisistratidae and of the soothsayer Onomacritus, who were skilful enough to secure to themselves the person of the king, and who had a party among the nobles, as well as of the Thessalian princes, the Aleuades. But at the execution of it, it was seen, that no Hippias stood at its head; although the king of Persia was entirely successful in attaining that, which was particularly his aim, the conquest and destruction of Athens.

Criticisms upon the detailed narrative of this expedition by Herodotus, as a national undertaking, in which all the conquered nations were compelled to participate. The three year's preparations in the Persian kingdom, and the alliance with Carthage, in order to subdue the Sicilian Greeks, 483—481. The expedition itself in the year 480; over Asia Minor and the Hellespont, through Thrace and

Macedonia. Great mustering of the army and division according to the tribes at Doriscus, the exact description of which in Herodotus was very probably borrowed from Persian documents. The taking of Thermopylae by treachery, and upon the same day, the sea fight at Artemisium. Taking and burning of Athens. Naval battle at Salamis, Sept. 23, 480, and the retreat of Xerxes, after having left behind a select army under Mardonius. Useless negotiations with the Athenians. Second expedition of Mardonius and defeat at Plataea, Sept. 25, 479; (by which defeat the incursions of the Persians into Greece were terminated forever,) as also the defeat of the army and the burning of the fleet on the same day at Mycale in Western Asia.

28. The pernicious consequences, which such repeated unsuccessful expeditions, prepared by such general national levies, must have for the weakening and depopulation of the empire, are self evident. The defensive war, which the Persians were obliged to maintain for thirty years more against the Grecians, who demanded the independence of their countrymen in Asia, destroyed the equilibrium of their power, since it obliged them to make Asia Minor, their most distant western province, the centre of it.

29. Although they now ceased to be formidable to the Grecians for their arms, they became very much so, by the system which they now commenced of bribing the chiefs of Greece. The first experiment of this upon Pausanias succeeded beyond expectation, and that upon Themistocles was perhaps not entirely without effect. But in Cimon the Persians soon find a foe, who deprived them entirely of the dominion of the sea, and who, finally at the Eurymedon, annihilated in a single

day their fleet and their land army, and, by the taking of the Thracian Chersonesus, 469. snatched from them the key to Europe.

30. The little information that we have of the farther reign of Xerxes, consists of intrigues in the Seraglio, which was even at that time, principally by means of the queen Amistris, the theatre of all the cruelties which are ever found there, and of which Xerxes himself at last became the victim through the conspiracy of Artabanus and of the eunuch Spamitres.

Is Xerxes the Ahasuerus of the Jews? There is a difference in the names of the Persian kings, in the Persian and Chaldean languages; which is so much the less to be wondered at, since they were merely titles and surnames, assumed by them upon their accession to the throne.

31. Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus), 465—424. The conspiracy of Artabanus brought him, by the murder of his father and elder brother, to the throne, which he can only secure to himself by the murder of Artabanus. His forty years' reign exhibits the first symptoms of the downfall of the empire, which, with many good qualities, he was not possessed of sufficient talent and character to maintain.

32. In the very commencement of the reign, rebellions in the provinces, while in the mean time, the war with Athens proceeds. The revolt of his brother Hystaspis in Bactria can only be suppressed by two battles.

33. The second revolt of Egypt, caused by Inarus king of Lybia from Marea, in connexion with Amyrtaeus, the Egyptian, and supported by

the Athenians with a fleet. Although the conspirators were not only masters of Memphis, but also
463. defeated the Persian army under the brother of king Achaemenes, who lost his life by it, they were at last overcome by Megabyzus the Satrap of Syria, and besieged in Byblus, where they were obliged to surrender with Inarus upon capitulation. Nevertheless, Amyrtaeus still supported himself in the morasses.
456.

34. But the Grecian war soon takes again an unfortunate turn for the Persians, as Cimon defeats the Persian fleet and army near Cyprus.
449. The danger of losing Cyprus entirely, obliges Artaxerxes I. to make peace with Athens, wherein he is compelled to acknowledge the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks, and promise, that neither his fleets shall navigate the Ægean Sea, nor his troops approach within three days journey of its
440. coasts.

35. But the haughty Megabyzus, first offended by the execution of Inarus, contrary to the promise given to him, rebels in Syria; defeats the
447. royal army in several battles, and is able himself to prescribe the conditions, under which he becomes reconciled to the king. He gave the first great example of the successful rebellion of a Satrap in the Persian empire, and however various his own future fate was, his party nevertheless continued, even after his death, under his sons. At the court itself, he had his support in Amistris, the queen dowager, and in the reigning queen, Amytis, who were both famous for their ex-
424. cesses, and who held Artaxerxes I. under strict guardianship till his death.

36. The subsequent changes in the government are rapid and violent. The only legitimate son and successor of Xerxes II. is, within forty-five days, put to death by his illegitimate brother Sogdianus. He too is deposed after six months by another illegitimate brother, Ochus, who ascends the throne as Darius II. 423.

37. Darius II., Nothus. His reign of 19 423 to 404. years, under the guardianship of his wife Parysatis, and three Eunuchs, (the first of whom, Artoxares, endeavors to prepare the way for himself to the throne, but is executed,) is the period of a continual decay, which is occasioned partly by the extinction of the true royal family, and partly by the prevailing custom of committing several provinces, together with the military command in them, to the same Satrap. Although the repeated revolts of the Satraps were quelled, the court by the perfidious manner in which it was done, gave a great proof of its weakness. The revolt, however, of a brother of the king, Arsites, who was supported by a son of Megabyzus, and that of Pisuthnes, Satrap in Lydia, cannot be quieted, until by means of 422. 414. artifice possession is gained of their persons.

38. This tottering condition of the empire caused to break out in Egypt the fire, which had always glowed under the embers. Amyrtaeus, who had kept himself in the morasses, again came forward and, supported by the Egyptians, drove the Persians from the country; and dark as 414. is the subsequent history, it is still evident, that the Persians were obliged to recognize, not only

Amyrtaeus, but also the following kings, (page 73) who, however, sometimes submitted to pay tribute.

39. It may be considered as fortunate for Persia, that the Peloponnesian war, which broke out in Greece under Artaxerxes I. and continued^{431.} throughout the entire reign of Darius II., prevented the Grecians from unitedly attacking the Persians. It had been and still remained the ruling policy of the Persians to foment the disturbances and wars between the Grecian republics, while they embraced the cause sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other; and the mutual hatred of the Grecians made this game so easy, that they could hardly have failed of effecting the entire ruin of Greece in this manner, if they had always acted as systematically as Tissaphernes, and if the temper and jealousy of the Satraps of Asia Minor had not had more influence than the will of the court.

A treaty of the Persians with Sparta, was negotiated by Tissaphernes 411, but by means of the policy of Alcibiades and the cunning maxims of Tissaphernes, remained without important consequences, until the younger Cyrus, as Satrap of all Western Asia, from 407, was drawn into the Spartan interest by Lysander.

40. Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, 405—362. Although he was the eldest son of Darius, the succession might appear doubtful, according to the ideas of the Persians, since his younger brother Cyrus had the advantage of having been the first born after his father's accession to the throne. Yet Cyrus, supported by his mother Parysatis, would even without this reason have endeavored

to make valid his claims to the throne; and it would have probably been fortunate for the Persian empire, if, in the ensuing war between the brothers, the sport of fortune had left the throne to him, for whom nature seemed to have designed it.

History of this war according to Xenophon. In the battle of Cunaxa, Cyrus falls, 401. The ten thousand Grecian mercenaries in the service of Cyrus, make their retreat under the command of Xenophon.

41. Throughout his whole reign, after he was once firmly seated upon the throne, he continued to govern under the guardianship of his mother Parysatis, whose burning anger against his wife Statira, as well as against all those who had been concerned in the death of her favorite son, Cyrus, makes the seraglio the theatre of cruelties, which could have been devised and executed only in such a place.

42. The revolt and defeat of Cyrus changes the relations, in which the Persian court stood with Sparta; but these relations had been fixed less by the will of the king, than by Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, the Satraps of Western Asia, of whose jealousy Sparta was able to make use. The first of these, by his cruelty towards the ^{400.} Asiatic Greeks who had aided Cyrus, excites against Sparta, where they sought assistance, a war of which he became the victim, and which, but a short time after, even his execution is not sufficient to calm, when Agesilaus had taken ^{396 to} the command in Asia and threatened to sub- ^{394.}vert the Persian throne itself. The policy of the

Persians, however, by which they stir up a war with Sparta in Greece itself, with Conon at the head of its fleet, draws them from embarrassment better than one of their own generals could have done, and in the peace of Antalcidas, they

387. dictate the conditions, by virtue of which the Grecian part of Western Asia, together with Cyprus and Clazomene, was ceded to them. The increasing power of Thebes, (with which they stood in very friendly relations) under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, now secured them from a new attack of the Spartans. A war, for the possession

385. of Cyprus, is waged with Evagoras, who nevertheless retains in peace the sovereignty of Salamis.

43. The war against the Cadusians in the mountains of Caucasus only proves that Artaxerxes
384. II. was a bad general, and his attempt, for the recovery of Egypt from king Nectanebus I.,
374. frustrated by the quarrels between Iphicrates and Artabazus, shows that even the most numerous army of the Persians, without Grecian auxiliaries and Grecian generals, was no longer able to effect any thing. Indeed a kingdom could hardly subsist long, where at court the revenge of women was the ruling power, where the interior organization was so far dissolved, that the Satraps waged war with each other; and where the generals, if they evinced talents, were rewarded like Datames.

44. In fact, even before the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the Persian empire appeared to be on the verge of ruin. While the three legitimate sons of the king were disputing at court concerning the

succession (of whom he was obliged to order the eldest Darius to be put to death), there arose in the western part of the kingdom a conspiracy, in which all the governors of Asia Minor and Syria, supported in Egypt by king Tachos, to whose assistance the Spartans had sent Agesilaus, were engaged. But to this conspiracy a stop was put by the corruption of their leader Orontes, who was gained over by the court. 362.

45. In the midst of this confusion, Artaxerxes II. died, and his yougest son Ochus, under the name of Artaxerxes III. gained possession of the throne, which he believes he cannot secure to himself except by the entire extinction of the too numerous royal family. He is the contemporary of Philip of Macedonia, in whom he soon had a more dangerous rival than he could have found in his own family. about 362 to 338.

46. The new rebellion of Artabazus in Asia Minor was successful only as long as the Thebans afforded it their assistance. But the reception, which Artabazus received from Philip, betrayed the disposition of the king of Macedonia. 358.

47. But another great rebellion of the Phenicians and Cyprians, in connexion with Egypt, forces the king to a new expedition, which was successful beyond all expectation; although here too, treachery and Grecian auxiliaries were obliged to do the most. 356.

Mentor, the leader of the allies, proves a traitor, and the conquest and destruction of Sidon, followed by the overthrow of the Phenicians 356, are the effect of it.

Cyprus is taken by Grecian troops under Phocion and the younger Evagoras, 354.

The king himself makes an expedition against Egypt, and, with the assistance of Grecian mercenaries, gains a victory over king Nectanebus, at Pelusium, 354. Egypt becomes again a Persian province.

48. Upon the restoration of the empire to its ancient extent, there follows a forced quiet, when Mentor and the Eunuch Bagoas in some measure divide the empire between them, while they keep the king in complete dependence, until it pleased

338. Bagoas to remove him out of the way by poison.

49. After the murder of the royal family, Bagoas places Arses upon the throne, the only remaining son of the king, in order to govern in his name; but after two years finds it necessary to

336. depose him, and the dignity is conferred by him on Darius Codomannus, a distant relation of the hitherto reigning family; who commences his reign by putting the villain to death.

50. Darius III. Codomannus, not having been educated like his predecessors in the seraglio, evinced virtues which made him worthy of a better fate than that which befel him. But attacked

334. as early as in the second year of his reign, by Macedonia, against which no defensive preparations had been hitherto made in Persia (unless perhaps the dagger which struck Philip was sharpened by Persian hands), he could not immediately by his own exertions recover a decayed empire. And nevertheless had not death frustrated the invasion of his general, Memnon, into Macedonia, it

may be doubted, whether Alexander would shine as the conqueror of Asia. After two lost battles, in which he fights in person, Darius III. fell, the victim of the traitor Bessus, and the conflagration of Persepolis showed to Asia, that the Persian empire was destroyed, and that a new ruler was given to the East.

See the history of the war under the history of Macedonia.

THIRD DIVISION.

HISTORY OF THE STATES OF GREECE.

PRELIMINARY GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION.

Greece is bounded on the north by the Cambanian mountains, which separate it from Macedonia; on the south and east by the Ægean sea, and on the west by the Ionian. Its greatest length from north to south is 247 miles; greatest breadth from east to west 157 miles. Its surface contains 37,462 square miles. The principal rivers are the Peneus, which flows into the Ægean sea, and Achelous which flows into the Ionian. It has advantages in respect to productiveness in the mildness of the climate between 37–40° N. Latitude; the number of small rivers and the quality and varieties of soil, by which nature seems to have provided for it, more than for any other land of equal extent, that all the branches of physical culture should thrive together in an almost equal degree. It has advantages in respect to navigation and commerce, for it is situated in the centre of the three quarters of the globe, surrounded on three sides by seas, and, having an irregular and indented coast, is rich in landing places and harbors.

It may be divided into Northern Greece, from the northern boundary, to the chain of the Oeta and Pindus, between the bay of Ambracia in the West, and that of Malia in the East. Middle Greece, or Hellas, extending to the Isthmus of Corinth; and the Southern peninsula or Peloponnesus.

Northern Greece contains the two districts; Thessaly in the East, and Epirus in the West.

1. Thessaly is the largest and one of the most fertile districts of Greece. It extends from North to South 70 miles; from West to East 75 miles. Its rivers are the Peneus, Apidanus, and several smaller ones. Mountains. Olympus, the residence of the Gods in the fables of the poets, and Ossa in the North; the chain of the Oeta, Othrys, and Pindus in the South. It is divided into five districts; Estiaeotis, with the cities, Gomphi, Azorus; Pelasgiotis, with the cities Larissa, Gonni, and the valley of Tempe; Thessaliotis, with the cities Pharsalus, and others; Phthiotis, with the cities Pherae and others. The promontory of Magnesia, with the city of the same name.—Other districts derive their names from the nations living in them, who were not Greeks, as Perrhaebia, &c.

2. Epirus, next to Thessaly, is the largest, though less cultivated district of Greece, from 56 to 70 miles in length, and of the same breadth. Its parts are Molossis, with the city Ambracia; Thesprotia, with the city Buthrotum; in the interior, Dodona.

Middle Greece or Hellas contains nine districts.

Attica. A promontory running South and East, and continually growing narrower. Length 70 miles, greatest breadth, 28 miles. Rivers: Ilissus, Cephissus. Mountains: Hymettus, Pentelicus, and the promontory of Sunium. City: Athens, with the harbors, Pirææus, Phalæreus and Muni-chius;—besides these, only villages, such as Mar-athon, Eleusis, Deceleæ, &c.

2. Megaris, on the isthmus of Corinth. The smallest of all the districts of Greece, 19 miles in length, and from 4 to 9 in breadth. City: Megara.

3. Boeotia, a mountainous and marshy district, 60 miles in length, and from 32 to 37 in breadth. Rivers: Asopus, Ismenus, and many smaller. Mountains: Helicon, Cytheron and others. Lake: Copais. Of all the countries of Greece it contains the greatest number of cities, each of which had its own territory. Thebes upon the Ismenus, was the first of them, and often mistress of the rest. The others, Plataeæ, Tanagra, Thespiæ, Chaeronea, Lebadea, Leuctra and Orchomenus are all famous in Grecian history.

4. Phocis, smaller than Attica, 56 miles long; from 9 to 23 broad. River: Cephissus. Mountain: Parnassus. Cities: Delphi, on Parnassus, with the famous oracle of Apollo; Crissa, with the harbor of Cyrrha; and Elatea, in the interior of the country. The other cities are inconsiderable.

5. 6. The two districts of Locris. The eastern upon the Euripus, inhabited by the Locri Opuntii

and Epicnemidii, is the smaller, little larger than Megaris. City : Opus. Pass : Thermopylae. The western on the bay of Corinth inhabited by the Locri Ozolae, 23 to 28 miles long—19 to 23 broad. Cities : Naupactus on the coast, Amphissa in the interior.

7. The small district of Doris, or Tetrapolis Dorica, on the southern side of the mountain of Oeta, 9—14 miles long, and as many broad.

8. Aetolia. Somewhat larger than Boeotia, from 56 to 60 miles long, 32 to 37 broad, but the least cultivated country of all. Rivers : Achelous, which forms its boundary on the side of Acarnania and Euenus. Cities : Calydon, Thermus.

9. Acarnania, the western country of Hellas, 37 miles long, 19 to 28 broad. River : Achelous. Cities : Argos Amphilochicum and Stratus.

The peninsula of the Peloponnesus contains eight districts.

1. Arcadia, a mountainous country abounding in pastures, in the centre of the peninsula. Greatest length 56 miles, greatest breadth 42 miles. Mountains : Cyllene, Erymanthus and others. Rivers : Alpheus, Erymanthus and many smaller ones. Cities : Mantinea, Tegea, Orchomenus, Heraea, Psophis, and afterwards, Megalopolis, as the common capital.

2. Laconia, likewise mountainous. Greatest length 65 miles, greatest breadth 42 miles. River : Eurotas. Mountains : Taygetus, and the promontories of Malea and Taenarium. Cities : Spar-

ta on the Eurotas ; other places : Amyclae, Sellasia, and several, which were not considerable.

3. Messenia, on the western side of Laconica, a more even and very fruitful country, which was subject to the Spartans from 668. Greatest extent from N. to S. 33 miles ; greatest extent from E. to W. 42 miles. City : Messena. Border-fortresses : Ithome and Ira. Of the other places Pylus and Methone are best known.

4. Elis, together with the small district of Triphylia on the western side of the Peloponnesus. Length 70 miles ; greatest breadth 33 miles. Rivers : Alpheus, Peneus, Sellis, and many smaller. Cities : in the North, Elis, Cyllene and Pylus. On the Alpheus, Pisa, and the neighboring Olympia. In Triphylia, yet a third Pylus.

5. Argolis. A neck of land on the eastern side of the peninsula, opposite Attica, which forms with it the Linus Saronicus. Length 75 miles ; breadth from 9 to 33 miles. Cities : Argos, Mycenae, Epidaurus. Smaller remarkable places : Nemea, Cynuria, Troezen.

6. Achaia, formerly Ionia, and Aegialus, on the northern coast. Length 65 miles ; breadth 14 to 28 miles. It contained 12 cities, of which Dyme, Patrae, and Pellene are the most considerable.

7. The small district Sicyonia, 19 miles long, 9 miles broad, with the cities Sicyon and Phlius.

8. The small district of Corinth, of the same size, directly upon the isthmus, which connects the Peloponnesus with the main land. City : Corinth, formerly Ephyra, having the harbor of Le-

chaum on the Corinthian, and that of Cenchreæ on the Saronic gulf.

9. The Grecian islands consist, partly of those which lie near the coast, partly of groups or of single islands in the open sea.

10. Islands on the coasts. On the western, in the Ionian sea; Corcyra, opposite Epirus, 37 miles long, 9 to 19 broad. City: Corcyra. A colony of Corinth. Opposite to Acarnania: Leucadia, with the city and promontory of Leucas.—Cephalonia or Same, formerly Scheria, with the cities of Cephalonia and Same. Near it the small island of Ithaca.—Opposite Elis, Zacynthus. On the southern coast: Cythera, with the city of the same name. On the western coast in the Saronic gulf, Aegina and Salamis. Opposite Boeotia, from which it is separated by the straits of Euripus, is Euboea, the largest of all, 112 miles long; 14 to 19 miles broad. Cities: Oreus, together with the promontory Artemisium in the North. In the middle, Chalcis, Eretria, towards Thessaly, Scyathus and Halonesus.—Farther north, Thasus, Imbrus, Samothrace and Lemnus.

11. Groups of islands in the Ægean Sea: the Cyclades and the Sporades, the former of which comprehend the western, and the latter, the eastern islands of the Archipelago. The most important of them are Andros, Delos, Paros, Naxos, Melos, all with cities of the same name.

12. Single larger islands. 1. Crete, 163 miles long, 28 to 47 broad. Mountains: Ida. Cities: Cydonia, Gortyna, Cnossus. 2. Cyprus, 140 miles

long, 23 to 93 broad. Cities : Salamis, Paphos, Citium, and several smaller.

13. For the principal islands of Hellas, along the coast of Asia Minor, see above, page 17.

FIRST PERIOD.

Earliest traditional history, until the Trojan War, about 1200.

Sources. Of the origin and progress of history among the Greeks. The first subject of investigation is the peculiar character of Grecian mythology, in a historical view, as containing the most ancient popular history of the tribes and heroes, rich in itself on account of the number and variety of the tribes and their leaders ; and developed and exhibited in a variety of forms, especially in the very early ages, by great national epic poets, and afterwards by tragic.—History received its first existence separate from tradition at the hands of the Logographi, especially in the Ionian cities, Hecataeus, Pherecydes, &c., until Herodotus, justly called its father, raised it at once to a high degree of perfection. (cf. *Die historische Kunst der Griechen in ihrer Entstehung und Fortbildung* von G. F. Creuzer, 1803.) But not only in him, even in later historians, history retained traces of its origin, and so far was the authority of tradition extended, that even a Theopompus, and an Ephorus did not hesitate to borrow their materials from mythologists and poets. It need not be remarked, that during this first period, history was essentially traditionary in its character.

Among moderns, Grecian history has been most happily treated by the English. The principal works are

The history of ancient Greece, its colonies and conquests from the earliest accounts, till the division of the Macedo-

nian empire in the East, including the history of literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, by John Gillies. London. 1786. 2 vols. 4to. Aud :

The history of Greece, by William Mitford, Esq. London. 1784. 3 vols. 4to. [and 8 vols. 8vo. Boston. 1823.] A free translation into German was made by H. L. Eichstädt. Jena. 1800. 6 vols. 8vo. Although Mitford excels in learning, richness and research, Gillies surpasses him in spirit, taste, and especially in a correct apprehension of the spirit of antiquity.

The second and third part of the history of the world, by Guthrie and Gray, with Heyne's emendations (page 1) is of use in beginning the study.

Recherches sur les Grecs, par Mr. de Pauw. 1781. 2 vols. 8vo. Full of partial views and hypotheses.

On single objects of Grecian history, many important investigations may be found, partly in the large collection—Gronovii Thesaurus Antiquitatum Graecarum. 12 vols. fol. partly in the writings of learned societies. Among these, above all in :

Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des belles Lettres. Paris, from 1709, 49 vols. 4to. and in

Commentarii (4 vols.), Commentarii novi (8 vols.), Commentationes (16 vols.), and Commentationes recentiores Societatis Scientiarum Gotting. (3 vols.).

1. Although Greece was originally inhabited by many small tribes, they are divided into two principal ones, the Pelasgi and the Hellenes. Both probably came from Asia ; the difference, however, of their languages, characterized them as different tribes. Of these, the Pelasgi were at first the ruling tribe of Greece.

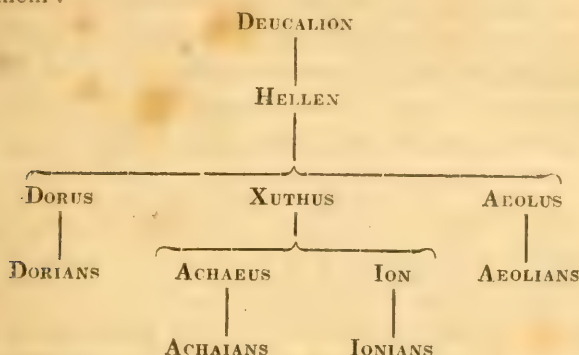
The first settlements of the Pelasgi were in Peloponnesus, under Inachus ; about 1800 before Christ. If indeed, according to their own tradition, they make their first appear-

ance there as rude barbarians, they still advanced directly to some degree of culture, as the most ancient states of Argos and Sicyon sprang up among them. They extended towards the north, especially towards Attica, and made a settlement in Thessaly, under their leaders Achæus, Phthius and Pelasgus, where they learned to engage in agriculture, and remained settled 150 years, from about 1700—1550 before Christ.

2. The Hellenes (so called in later times from Hellen, one of their leaders), in the beginning the weaker tribe, are first found in Phocis, around Parnassus, under their king Deucalion; whence about 1550. they were expelled by a deluge. They migrated to Thessaly, and the expulsion of the Pelasgi from thence followed. The Hellenes in a short time became the ruling people, and, spreading themselves over Greece, almost entirely drove out the Pelasgi, who maintained themselves in Arcadia and in the region of Dodona only, and migrated, partly to Italy, partly to Crete and other islands.

3. The stock of the Hellenes is divided into four principal branches, the Aeolians, the Ionians, Dorians and Achæians, who afterwards remained distinguished from each other by many peculiarities, in respect to language, customs and public constitutions. Tradition derives these tribes, which, however, do not include all the smaller branches of the nation, from the immediate successors of Deucalion, with whose personal history, therefore, the history of the tribes and their migrations is interwoven.

The following genealogical table will serve to give a view of them :



4. The general dispersion of the branches of this race over Greece took place between the years 1500—1300, by means of several migrations, by which also their places of permanent abode, until the later migration of the Dorians and Heraclides (about 1000), were fixed.

Principal data in the history of the single tribes during this period.

1. Aeolus succeeds his father Hellen in Phthiotis, which, from that time, remained the seat of the Aeolians, who from thence spread themselves partly over western Greece, Acarnania, Aetolia, Phocis, Locris, and Elis in Peloponnesus as well as over the western islands.

2. Dorus succeeds his father in Estiaeotis, the most ancient residence of the Dorians. Expulsion thence after the death of Dorus by the Perrhaebi, and dispersion over Macedonia and Crete; return of a part of the tribe, which passes the Oeta, and founds the Tetrapolis Dorica, situated in the territory of Doris, afterwards so called, until it returns from thence to the Peloponnesus under the guidance of the Heraclidae, about 1100. See below.

3. Xuthus, expelled by his brothers, wanders to Athens, and with Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, begets Ior and Achæus. Ion and his family, driven from Athens, settle in Aegialus in the Peloponnesus, from them called Ionia, and afterwards Achaia. The Achæians continue residing in Laconica and Argolis, until the times of the Doric emigration. See below.

Anfänge der Griechischen Geschichte von L. D. Hüllman. 1814. Rich in new views and conjectures; beyond which the original history of the nations can rarely go.—Very different views and results are found in

Geschichten Hellenischer Stämme und Städte von D. C. Otfried Müller. Erster Band, Orchomenos und die Minyer. 1820.

5. Besides these ancient inhabitants, there arrived in Greece even in these early times colonies of cultivated nations from Egypt, Phenicia, and Mysia. The settlements of these strangers appear to have been made between 1600 and 1400.

Settlement in Attica of the colony of Cecrops from Sais in Egypt, about 1550; in Argos, of the colony of Danaus, likewise from Egypt about 1500. The colony of Cadmus from Phenicia, about 1550, in Bœotia. The colony of Pelops from Mysia, about 1400 in Argos.

6. Clear as it is from the mythology of the Hellenes, that in the beginning they were savages as well as the Pelasgi,—for Prometheus was the first to teach them the use even of fire,—so certain is it, that even in this very early period, especially between 1300—1200, after their migrations had ceased, they made the first important step towards the attainment of a certain degree of culture. At the time of the Trojan war, they yet appear as barbarians, but no longer as savages.

7. How this improvement of the nation originat-

ed and advanced, and what influence the strangers, who arrived, had over it, are questions very difficult to be answered. If it was Cecrops, who first introduced into Attica the law of matrimony, and if agriculture and the cultivation of the olive were first invented here, the Hellenes appear to have owed the foundation of domestic culture entirely to strangers. And if the most powerful of the families, that were afterwards the ruling ones, were descended from these emigrants, there appears to be hardly any doubt of their continued influence. But whatever the Greeks may have received from strangers, every thing, thus derived, was first stamped with their own impress, and they for that reason remained not less original. The question becomes, therefore, much less important than it would seem at the first glance.

8. This was especially the case with all the branches of intellectual culture, and particularly of religion. It is hardly to be doubted that many divinities and rites were introduced among the Grecians, probably by way of Crete, from Egypt, Asia, and Thrace; but they were no longer Egyptian, Asiatic or Thracian Gods,—they became Grecian. Thence it appears that the investigation of those relations can lead to no farther important results. But it was of the highest importance, that whatever Gods the Grecians adopted, it should never be possible for a peculiar order, much less class of priests, to maintain itself among them, laying claim to the exclusive profession of higher refinement; although it is made very probable by several vestiges, that some of the most ancient

sanctuaries were settlements of Egyptian or even Phenician and Cretan priests, who brought their worship with them. Even if this consisted in external usages only, nevertheless many ideas and institutions were of necessity so interwoven with them, that in this manner they became the common property of the people.

9. Thus it was principally religion, by which the rough spirit became in some degree refined. The most ancient minstrels, an Orpheus, Linus, and others, who, by the diffusion of religious principles, contributed so much towards staying the bloody spirit of mortal revenge, and with it the existence of continual wars, it was they, who knew how, in the mysteries, to represent to the senses of the narrow circle of the initiated, the advantages of civilized life.

St. Croix *Recherches sur les mystères du Paganisme*. Paris. 1784. German: des Freih. v. St. Croix *Versuch über die alten Mysterien*. Uebersetzt und mit (very valuable) *Anmerkungen* begleitet von C. G. Lenz. Gotha. 1790.

10. No less effect did religion produce by means of the oracles, especially by those at Dodona and Delphi; both of which, and perhaps the one at Olympia, appear to have been similar ancient settlements of priests. The necessity of consulting them led the people of their own accord to consider them as the common property of the nation, the access to which was to be necessarily free to every one, and the management of common affairs could hardly therefore but depend mostly upon these oracles.

A. van Dalen *de oraculis veterum Ethnicorum* disserta-

tionis sex. Amstel. 1700. A work formerly much valued. There is yet no comprehensive investigation of the subject. Something has been done by :

J. Groddek de oraculorum quae Herodoti libris continentur natura commentatio. Goetting. 1786.

11. In general, in Greece as in other places, under the protection of the sanctuaries, the tender plant of refinement germinated. Here were the festivals and meetings, where nations, formerly strangers, looked upon each other with a friendly eye, and conversed on affairs of common interest. Here the first ideas of a law of nations originated, and led to connexions which served to develope their ideas still more. Among these connections the most important and the most durable was that of the Amphictyons at Delphi, which may indeed have first attained a definite form in later times, but appears to have already adopted as its maxim, that none of the states belonging to it, should be destroyed by the others.

Ueber die Bund der Amphictyonen von Fred. Wilh. Tittman. An essay to which a prize was awarded by the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin. 1812.

12. Beside religion, navigation and the commerce connected with it kept the nation in intercourse with strangers and rendered it more susceptible of improvement. This navigation was indeed for a long time nothing more than piracy ; but when Minos of Crete cleared the sea of it, the want of another state of things must ^{about} 1400. already have been felt.

13. In the mean time the heroic spirit of the nation awoke more and more ; and in the heroic

age its first youthful bloom was developed. The propensity for extraordinary enterprizes was aroused, and impelled the generals, not merely individually, but unitedly, beyond the boundaries of their country. But these undertakings were to become much more important than they were in themselves, since, continuing to live in the songs of the poet, they rendered further developement possible by means of a national poetry, such as no other nation possessed.

Expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis somewhere about 1250; and war of the seven allied princes against Thebes about 1225, which however was first conquered by their sons (the Epigoni) at the second attempt 1215.

14. Every thing was now ready for a great national undertaking of all the Grecian nations, which was accomplished in the war against Troy. Its most important result was the exciting of a national spirit, which must necessarily arise from a common expedition of ten years duration in so distant a land and of such success, and which, in spite of all the discussions and quarrels, was never entirely extinguished. After the expedition against Troy, the Hellenes began for the first time to consider themselves as one nation.

General description of the political condition of Greece about the times of the Trojan war.—Division into many small states, of which Argos and Mycenae were the most powerful.—All the hereditary commanders or chieftains were, at the same time, generals in war and judges in peace, whose greater or less consequence depended entirely upon their greater or less qualifications, and especially upon their courage in war.—Manner of living of the nation, as a warlike people living in cities and at the same time engaged

in agriculture and grazing, and somewhat advanced in navigation.

A. W. Schlegel de Geographia Homeri, commentatio. Hannov. 1788. This work gives a view of the political geography of Greece at that time.—For a knowledge of the localities of the Trojan war, above all :

Lechevalier Beschreibung der Ebne von Troja. Uebersetzt, und mit Anmerkungen von Heyne. Leipzig. 1794. Yet with this Clarke's Travels, vol. I, chap. 4—6, are to be compared, which render the results of Lechevalier doubtful again.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the Trojan war, to the beginning of the Persian wars. 1200—500.

Sources. Concerning no part of Grecian history are we so little informed as concerning this long period, in which we have but a general acquaintance with many of the most important incidents. The beginning of it is still, as in the former period, a history derived from tradition and the poets. Near the end of it the use of writing became more common among the Grecians; besides, the period was poor in great national undertakings, which might afford materials, proper for the poet or for the historian. Beside much scattered information which may be found in Herodotus, Plutarch, Strabo, and especially in the introduction of Thucydides (the books of Diodorus which belong here, are entirely lost), Pausanias must be particularly mentioned, who in his description of Greece has preserved for us much information, which is very valuable for the history of the single small states.

History of the Grecian States, within Greece.

1. The period immediately subsequent to the Trojan war, was rendered very unquiet by the many disturbances in the reigning families, especially that of Pelops; but in a short time much greater commotions were created by the attempt of the northern savage tribes, especially of the Dorians, with whom the Aetolians were allied, led by the Heraclidae who had been expelled from Argos, to gain possession of Peloponnesus, which attempts agitated Greece for almost a whole century, and by changing the residences of most of the Grecian tribes, was attended by the most durable and important results.

First fruitless attempt under Hyllus, the son of Hercules, about 1180.—Repeated attempts until Telephus and Cresphontes, the grandsons of Hyllus, together with the sons of their brother Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles, made good their claims about 1100.

2. Effects of this migration on Peloponnesus. The territory of Argos, Sparta, Messene, and Corinth, torn from the Achaians, the former inhabitants, became the property of the Dorians; and Elis also fell into the possession of the Aetolians, who accompanied the Dorians. The expelled Achaians, in their turn drove out the Ionians, and settled themselves in Achaia, from this time so called; the Ionians were received by the Athenians, their old kindred tribe. One consequence of this Grecian migration was also the foundation of Grecian colonies in Asia Minor, first the colony of the tribe of the Aeolian Grecians, and soon after

of the Ionian and even Dorian, which was highly important for the farther developement of the nation.

See the history of these colonies in the next section.

3. Inevitably as these migrations and wars, to which the ruder tribes compelled the more cultivated, must result, not only in retarding the improvement of the nation, but in almost entirely annihilating it, the foundation of the whole subsequent organization of affairs in Greece, was nevertheless laid by them. The tribes, which had migrated, as well as those, which had been expelled, were all at first under the government of their chieftains, and some remained under them a longer, others a shorter time. But already, in the next two centuries after the migration, between 1100—900, there sprang up in all of the Grecian countries, (the single one of Epirus excepted,) republican forms of government, which continued to be preserved although under many changes, and by which the love of political freedom, that constitutes a principal trait in their national character, was most deeply impressed upon them.

4. The main cause of this change, so highly important for Greece, by which its future interior political relations were settled forever, lay as the result shows, in nothing but the progress, which city life, and with it civil improvement in general, made among the tribes, that had newly emigrated. For in this new order of things, each city at that time formed its own internal constitution, and, hence, there were almost as many free states, as there were cities with their territories.

It is altogether a false idea which at least is favored by the manner of expression used in most writings on Grecian history, to imagine that there were just as many states as districts. Some indeed, as for instance Attica, Megaris, Laconia, may be considered as single states, since each was the territory appertaining to a single city. But others like Arcadia, Boeotia, &c. did not form each of them a single state, but contained as many single states as they contained cities with their demesnes. There still remained however *a.* the natural bond of relationship, and Arcadians, Boeotians, &c. spoke of each other as of a single people. *b.* There arose voluntary alliances between some or rather all the cities of one country, as, for example, in Achaia, so that all formed one confederacy, in which however each single state retained its own internal form of government. Or, *c.* by means of the greater power of some one state, there arose a kind of supremacy over the others, as for example of Thebes over the cities of Boeotia, which however was always weak and depended upon circumstances; besides *d.* the government of each single city passed through many changes, since single, ambitious citizens (tyrants) not only made themselves masters of the supreme power, but frequently knew how to make it for a long time hereditary in their families. It is easily seen that these are leading ideas for Grecian history, which cannot be too clearly and definitely considered; and it is also evident of itself, what a field such a situation opened to practical politics. The less established constitutions were to be expected in the single states, so much the more numerous must be political experiments, (to which the small compass of the states contributed,) and the oftener these experiments failed, so much the greater must the mass of political ideas become, among such an ingenious people; and of these the legal codes of Solon and others were afterwards the results.

5. Even after this division into a number of small states, which were held together by no com-

mon political bond, a certain degree of unity in the Grecian nation, and a certain national spirit were preserved, partly by periodical national festivals and games, (of which those at Olympia in honor of Jupiter were the principal,) where the nation displayed itself in its splendor, and in which all Grecians, but none other, might participate, and partly by the assembly of the Amphictyons, which grew more extensive. If this last institution did not have the effect which it was designed to have, the reason of it lay in the nature of every great confederacy, so soon as individual states, belonging to it, became too powerful.

The assembly of the Amphictyons was by no means a general congress of the states, in which all national occurrences were discussed. It had principally the inspection of the temple and oracle at Delphi. But 1. ideas of the law of nations had been diffused from thence among the Grecians, and it watched over their preservation. 2. By means of the political influence of the oracle, this led in single cases to participation in differences between the states. 3. It remained a national institution, in as much as none but Grecians could have a part in it.

Des anciens gouvernemens fédératifs, et de la législation de Crète, (par Mr. de St. Croix). Paris. 1796. One of the most valuable investigations concerning the Amphictyons as well as other kindred subjects of Grecian antiquity.

6. Even in this period, Sparta and Athens were distinguished among the single states of Greece, not only by their greater power, but also by their constitutions and codes of laws, and although it cannot yet be said that the history of the rest of Greece depends upon theirs, they are nevertheless principally deserving of our attention.

7. History of Sparta. After the expulsion of the Achaians (who had stood at first under the rule of chieftains of the house of Perseus, and, after Menelaus became king by marriage, of the house of Pelops) by the Dorians, Laconica fell by lot to the sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes, whose families remained the reigning families, so that always two kings, one from each family, jointly reigned.

Family of the Proclidae and the Agidae from Agis, the son and successor of Eurysthenes.

Sparta, ein Versuch zur Aufklärung der Geschichte und Verfassung dieses Staats von J. C. Manso. Leipzig. 1800 ff. 3 parts. This is the leading work on this state, and is at the same time rich in investigations on separate kindred topics in Grecian history.

Cragius de republica Lacedaemoniorum. 1642.

Meursius de regno Laconico and Miscellanea Laconica. Both are compiled with much industry.

8. The Dorians settled themselves in many of the cities of the country, which had been gradually conquered, and became, if not the only, yet the ruling inhabitants; while the Achaians, who remained behind, became slaves. But in a short time the city of Sparta acquired over the whole country a supremacy which it continued to retain, and the other cities, formerly of consequence, were reduced to open, and for the most part, insignificant places.

Relation of the citizens of the capital, the Spartans, as the ruling body, towards the inhabitants of the country, the Lacedaemonians, as subjects, liable to taxes and service in war. Agis, the successor of Eurysthenes, had already forcibly established this subjection, and the inhabitants of

Helos were made slaves for their resistance, while the others, by the sacrifice of their political freedom, remained in possession of their personal liberty, although even this was very much circumscribed.

9. The history of the two following centuries, until the time of Lycurgus, exhibited nothing but repeated wars of the Spartans with their neighbours, the Argives, and internal disturbances which were caused by the too great inequality of property, and by contests and the diminished power of the kings, until Lycurgus, the uncle and guardian of the young king Charilaus, about the year 880, gave Sparta the constitution to which it has since been principally indebted for the splendor of its renown.

Explanation of the principal features of the Spartan constitution. It must be remarked beforehand, *a.* Since the code of Lycurgus was formed at such an early period, and his laws were not written down but existed only in sayings, which were sanctioned by the oracle at Delphi, much is imputed to Lycurgus which was of later origin. *b.* Much, which really belongs to him, was not new, but ancient Dorian custom, which had begun to fall into neglect, and to which the power of law was now given. The code of Lycurgus, must, therefore, very naturally possess a similarity to that of the Cretans, who were also Dorians, although, much, as is assured, was derived directly thence. *c.* It was the principal aim of the laws of Lycurgus, to secure to Sparta its independence by the formation of a hardy and uncorrupted race of men. For that reason they had far more reference to private life and physical education, than to the form of civil government, in which he appears to have made few changes.

In respect to the form of government, there remained, 1.

The former relation of the Spartans as rulers towards the Lacedaemonians as subjects. 2. There also remained the two kings, from the two ruling families, as leaders in war and first magistrates in peace. On the other hand, 3. to Lycurgus is ascribed the establishment of a senate, which consisted of twenty-eight members, who could not be under sixty years, were chosen by the people and remained in office for life, and who on all public occasions stood at the side of the kings. But whether, 4. the college of the five annually elected Ephori, was instituted by Lycurgus or at a later period is uncertain; but also of less importance, since the great authority of this college, to which, as the highest civil tribunal, every thing became at last subordinate, was acquired in later times. Besides these, there were also 5. the assemblies of the people, according to their division into tribes and wards, in which assemblies, however, Spartans only participated, and their power extended only to the accepting or the rejecting of the proposals, made them by the kings and senate.

In the laws for private life, Lycurgus proceeded on the fundamental principle of making the Spartans, a society of citizens, who should, as far as possible, be equal to one another in their possessions and manner of life, and upon each of whom the conviction should be most deeply inculcated, that he was the property of the State and owed it blind obedience. Thence arose, 1. the new distribution of land, so that 9000 parts were assigned to the Spartans, and 30000 to the Lacedaemonians, which could be inherited or given away, but could not be sold. 2. The most entire absence possible of all luxury, especially by means of the public messes, or daily eating in common of the citizens according to their divisions, and at these messes the dishes, to be served up, were prescribed. 3. The whole arrangement of domestic society, as well between husbands and wives, as between parents and children, which arrangement was exclusively adopted to promote, even at the cost of morality, the

main political aim, the bringing up of hardy and healthy citizens, male and female. Also, 4. the relation of servants, who were called by the general name of *Helots*, and who, although they must be considered as peasants in a state of villanage, were, however, at the same time, the property of the State, which had a right to make use of them in war.—As to the rest, easy as it is to give in general, these principal points of the Spartan constitution, it is yet difficult and often impossible, from want of accurate information, to answer a great many questions, which may easily be proposed, when an inquirer goes farther into details. Incontestibly more wonderful than the constitution itself, is its duration for four centuries without any remarkable degeneracy ; so much the more wonderful, since the Spartans at this time soon began to become conquerors. Of a lasting peace in Greece, no thought could indeed be entertained, since it had within itself a republic of soldiers, whose citizens would be obliged to carry on war, if for no other reason, at least for amusement, since they committed to slaves all the affairs of domestic life, and of agriculture, on which they were obliged to depend entirely for subsistence.

Besides the works mentioned above, page 132 : Heyne *de Spartanorum republica judicium* : in commentat. Soc. Gotting. vol. ix. To be consulted in order to correct the narrow views of De Pauw.

10. Soon after *Lycurgus*, the wars of the Spartans began with their neighbors, the Argives and Arcadians, but especially with the Messenians, which appear to have had their principal cause in an ancient hatred of the Dorian tribes, on account of the unequal division of the lands at the taking of the Peloponnesus ; but which, it is visible, were mostly supported by the ambition of the kings, who knew how to manage the credulous people by oracles and the interpretation of them.

Inconsiderable wars with Tegea, Argos, and disputes with Messene 783—743.

First Messenian war 742—722., ended by the conquest of the frontier fortress, Ithome, after the voluntary death of Aristodemus, king of Messene. The Messenians become tributary to the Spartans, and are obliged to give up half of the revenues of their lands. During this war 1. The establishment of the college of Ephori, (according to some accounts) as viceroys in the absence of the kings, and arbiters of disputes, arising between them and the senate. 2. Restriction of the power of the people, in as much as it has not the power of modifying the decrees of the senate and kings, when laid before it, but merely of confirming or rejecting them. 3. The conspiracy of the Parthenii and Helots, which led to the sending out of colonies; a method which Sparta often adopted, for the preservation of internal quiet.

Second Messenian war 682—668, carried on for 14 years, by the Messenians under their hero Aristomenes, by the Spartans, animated by Tyrtaeus, until it was decided by the conquest of the fortress of Eira. The territory of the Messenians is divided among the conquerors, and the inhabitants are reduced to villanage like the Helots.

11. Although, by these Messenian wars, the territory of the Spartans was visibly increased, they nevertheless appear at first to have recovered slowly, and to have raised themselves by degrees to be the first of the Dorian states, while they continued to increase their territory at the expense of the Argives and Arcadians.

Wars with Tegea, for the most part unfortunate for Sparta, and with Argos, on account of Thyrea and the island Cythera, by which their territory was considerably increased, about 550.

12. These wars in the interior of the Peloponnesus

were not of such a kind, that they could produce much change in the Spartan constitution, and for a long time they served to divert the Spartans from a participation in foreign disputes. But when king Cleomenes, who at last deposed his colleague Demaratus, interfered with the affairs of the Athenians, the seed of quarrels between those republics was thereby sown. The subsequent wars with the Persians, in which Sparta was obliged to share, although Cleomenes had declined to take all interest in the revolt of Aristagoras, and the idea now arising of a supremacy in Greece, led to a series of entirely new relations.

13. The history of Athens during this period is more important for the interior changes, by which this state gradually formed itself into a republic, than for external enlargement. The situation and character of Attica, by which it was less exposed to the attacks and wanderings of the surrounding hordes, favored the peaceful and gradually increasing prosperity; of which the most evident vestiges are found, however little historical criticism may be able to set every thing here in as clear a light, as the historian might desire.

The history of Athens naturally forms a principal part of the works quoted above, page 119. Besides these:

The history of Athens, politically and philosophically considered, by William Young, Esq. London. 1796. 4to. Rather speculations than history.

Corsini *Fasti Attici*. Florent. 1747. 4 voll. 4to. This work is executed with the most careful attention to chronology.

1. Period of the monarchical government, till 1068. The

history of the state of Athens commences properly with Theseus, who succeeded his father Aegeus about the year 1300; although some institutions, such as that of the Areopagus, and the division of the people into nobles, the agricultural, and the business class, which remind us of Egyptian regulations, may be older and be dated from the colony of Cecrops. Theseus was nevertheless in a certain degree the founder of the state, since, instead of the four districts remaining, as they appear to have been before, independent of one another, he made the city of Athens the only seat of government.—Among his successors, Mnestheus, who fell before Troy, and the last, Codrus, who by a voluntary sacrifice of himself preserved Attica from the invasion of the Dorians 1068, are worthy of mention.

2. Period of the archons for life, of the family of Codrus, thirteen of whom governed, from 1068—752. The first was Medon, the last Alcmaeon. The office was hereditary like that of the kings, but they were obliged to give an account of their administration.—To the beginning of this period belongs the emigration of the Ionians from Attica to Asia Minor, 1044. See below.

3. Period of the archons for ten years, of whom there were seven in succession from 752—682. They too were of the family of Codrus. This period is without remarkable incidents.

4. Period of the nine archons annually chosen, till Solon. 682—594. The attributes of the former kings and of the preceding archons were however divided among the three first. We have in this, as in former changes, little accurate knowledge of the causes by which and of the manner in which they were effected.—Rise of an oppressive aristocracy, like that of the Patricians in Rome, immediately after the expulsion of the kings, since the archons, as well as the members of the Areopagus could only be chosen from the nobility. First attempt by Draco 622, to form a code of laws, which appears to have contained criminal laws only.

and was impracticable on account of its severity.—The revolt of Cylon 598 became most disadvantageous to the aristocratical party by the manner in which it was quelled; since that party brought upon itself the charge of blood, which, even after the expiation of Epimenides 593, served a long time as a pretext for disturbance; and the political factions of the *Pediaei*, of the *Diacrii*, and of the *Parhali*, plunged Athens into anarchy, while the neighboring Megarians seized upon the island of Salamis, which was however at last recovered by Solon.

14. From this anarchy Athens was rescued by Solon, a man to whom not only Athens, but 594. humanity in general owes great obligation. He was chosen archon, with the commission to prepare a better constitution for Athens, of which he acquitted himself so well, that by it he laid the foundation of the prosperity of his native city.

Of the principal features of Solon's code. Its principal aim was, the abolition of the oppressive aristocracy, yet without intending to introduce a pure democracy. 1. Preliminary laws: Abolition of the statutes of Dracon, (the laws against murder excepted) and the law for the relief of debtors, (*novae tabulae*) not so much by abolishing as by diminishing the debt by raising the value of money, and furthermore by securing the personal freedom of the debtor. 2. Fundamental laws partly with reference to public government, partly with respect to private life and civil law.—Civil government. *a.* Organization of the people by divisions according to property into four classes, *Pentecosiomedimni*, those who possessed a yearly income of 500 medimni, *Equites*, those who possessed 400, *Zeugitae*, those who possessed 300, and *Thetes* (*Capite censi*), those who had a less annual income.—The ancient divisions according to polls into *tribus*, of which there were four, and according to their residences, into *demoi* (wards), of which there were as many

as 170, were retained. *b.* The citizens of the three first classes only could participate in all the public offices, but every one could participate in the assemblies of the people and serve as judge. *c.* There remained indeed the nine annually chosen archons, (of whom the first was called Eponymus, who gave the name to the year,) the second Basileus, the third Polemarchus, the other six Thesmothetae, who stood at the head of the state as chief magistrates (without however being able to fill military offices), but at their side was placed the council or senate which consisted of a senate of 400 persons, annually renewed from the three first classes of citizens, (100 from each tribe) who were chosen by lot but were obliged to undergo a strict examination. This senate the archons were obliged to consult on all occasions, and nothing could be brought before the people, which had not first been discussed in the senate. *e.* To the people, so far as it consisted of all the four classes, there remained in its meetings the right of confirming the laws, the choice of magistrates, and deliberation upon all public affairs which were brought before it by the council, and also the public courts. *f.* But according to the plan of Solon, the main support of the constitution was to be the Areopagus, which had hitherto been a tool in the hands of the aristocracy. It was composed of the ex-archons, and remained not merely a court of justice in the most important *causis capitalibus*, but was also entrusted with the care of morals, the power of investigating the conduct of the ex-archons, and the right of reconsidering or annulling the decisions of the people. Their power, which might very easily have become equal to that of the Ephori in Sparta, could not but be called too great, had not experience taught what hurtful consequences resulted from the weakening of it by Pericles. Although this mixture of aristocracy and democracy betrayed great insight into the nature of republican constitutions, Solon is most worthy of our respect for his endeavors to place the helm of state in the hands of the most accomplished and wisest men; and

his whole code of laws, for private life, shows the man, who did not, like Lycurgus, make morality subordinate to politics, but politics to morality.

Sam. Petitus de legibus Atticis. 1635. fol. The best collection and explanation of the fragments of the attic code.

Chr. Bunsen de jure Atheniensium hereditario, ex Isaeo caeterisque oratoribus Graecis ducto. Goett. 1812. The right of inheritance formed a principal part of Solon's code. The explanation of it enters deeply into that of the constitution, in as far as it was a constitution for tribes and families.

15. If by the laws of Solon, parties did not entirely cease, his civil reform had this in common with all others. It was the natural course of things that the enfranchised plebeians should seek to try their strength on the aristocrats, and when these were at last put down, that the leader of the first, Pisistratus, should take the government into his hands without the constitution of Solon's being thereby set aside. That the frame of a republic can endure very well even under the dominion of a usurper, modern history has sufficiently proved; would that all republics might fall, if into the hands of any tyrant, of one like Pisistratus.

First elevation of Pisistratus, 561. when he gives himself a body guard, and flight of the Alcmaeonidae under Megacles. Expulsion in the year 560. Second elevation by a marriage contract with the family of Megacles, 556—552. Second expulsion by Megacles, 552—538. Third elevation on his forcibly seizing the supreme power, which he maintains till his death, 538—528. Escape of the Alcmaeonidae to Macedonia, where they attract to themselves the discontented. His sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, succeed him jointly, till 514, when the elder was murdered by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The emigrant Alcmaeonidae.

by bribing the Delphic oracle, draw the Spartans into their interest, and, supported by a Spartan army, put themselves in possession of Athens, while Hippias resigns his dignity and afterwards flies to the Persians.

16. This return of the Alcmaeonidae produced a change in the constitution of Solon, the number of tribes being increased by Clisthenes, the son of Megacles, to ten, (in order, as it seems, by new divisions of the citizens, to break down the spirit of party;) and the number of the members of the senate to 500.—But Athens was obliged to purchase the continuance of her liberty by a contest, in which Sparta, in alliance with the Bœotians and Chalcidenses, to whom Ægina also joins itself, would again force upon Athens the tyranny, first ⁵⁰⁷ to of Isagoras, the antagonist of Clisthenes, and ⁴⁰⁴ afterwards of the exiled Hippias. But the more victorious the republic came forth from this contest for recovered freedom, so much the more her spirit increased, by which she suffered herself to be persuaded to join in the contest for freedom ⁵⁰⁰ of the Asiatic Greeks under Aristagoras, and by the daring act of burning Sardis, to draw upon itself the wrath of Persia, without which, it is true, Athens and Greece would never have become what they were.

17. Of the history of the other states of Greece, we know of nothing but single data, and even of these we have very few respecting the greatest number. Towards the end of the period, Sparta and Athens had risen above them and stood recognised, the former as the first of the Doric, the latter as the first of the Ionian states. Still Sparta had often found

rivals in Messene, Argos, and Tegea, Athens in Megara and Ægina. In the mean time, Sparta and Athens, together with their better constitution, had the advantage of a greater territory, than any other of the Grecian cities possessed.

Principal data for the history of the smaller states.

I. IN THE PELOPONNESUS.

a. **ARCADIA.** Arcadian tradition gives us the names of a series of kings or chieftains, who are said to have ruled over the whole of Arcadia. The series begins with Arcas and his son Lycaon, whose successors retained the sovereignty, and took more or less interest in the ancient quarrels of the Hellenic princes. At the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, Arcadia remained the only country which did not suffer, protected more by its mountains than by the arts of Cypselus, at that time its king. His successors engaged in the wars between the Messenians and Spartans, in favor of the former, but in the second Messenian war, the last Arcadian king, Aristocrates II. became their betrayer, for which he was stoned by the Arcadians, and the royal dignity abolished 668. Arcadia is now parcelled out into as many small states as there were cities with their territory, the principal of which are Tegea and Mantinea, which exercised perhaps a certain influence over the others, without depriving them of their independence. The government was, as might be expected among nomades, democratic. In Mantinea there were governors and a senate. We find frequent mention of wars waged by single cities, but no common bond united them.

G. A. von Breitenbauch *Geschichte von Arcadien*. 1791.

b. **ARGOS.** Even before the Doric emigration, there were in the territory of Argolis several small kingdoms, as those of Argos, Mycenæ, and Tiryns. In Argos, next to

Sicyon, the oldest state in Greece, the ancestors of Perseus reigned, who exchanged it for Tiryns, where his successors reigned till Hercules, whose sons were expelled thence by Eurystheus, and fled to the Dorians. In Mycenae, which is said to have been built by Perseus, there reigned the family of Pelops. At the time of the Trojan war this small state, to which Corinth and Sicyon then belonged, was under Agamemnon the most powerful state in Greece. The emigration of Pelops from Asia Minor, a trading colony perhaps, as we are led to believe from the riches brought with it, must have been productive of important consequences, since it gave its name to the whole peninsula. At the conquest of the Dorians, Argos became the share of Temenus, and obtained, at the expulsion of the Achaians, Dorians for inhabitants. Even under Cissus, the son of Temenus, the royal power was so limited, that his successors retained nothing more than the name, till the royal dignity was done away, about 984, and exchanged for a republican constitution, of the inward organization of which we only know that in Argos, a senate, a college of eighty men, and magistrates, stood at the head ; but in Epirus a deputation of 180 citizens, who chose the senate from their own number ; in the mean time there remained in the territory of Argolis as many independent states, as there were cities ; in the north, Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns, in the south, Epidaurus and Troezen. The last continued to remain independent ; but Mycenae was destroyed by the Argives in 425, and the inhabitants of Tiryns were compelled to emigrate to Argos. Thus the territory of Argos comprehended the northern part of the district of Argolis, but not the southern, which belonged to the cities there situated.

c. CORINTH. Before the time of the Doric emigration, kings of the house of Sisyphus ruled there, and as early as that time, Corinth was praised by Homer for its riches. The Dorians expelled the former inhabitants, and Aletes, of the family of Hercules, became king about 1089, whose descend-

ants succeeded him, to the fifth generation, when, after the death of the last king, Telessus, 777, the house of the Bacchiadae, (also of the race of the Heraclidae) usurped the government, and introduced an oligarchy, for they annually chose a Prytanis from their midst; till at last in 657, Cypselus gained possession of the sovereignty, and was succeeded in 627, by his son Periander, both of whom distinguished themselves by their avarice and cruelty. He was succeeded by his nephew, Psammetichus, (†587) till in 584 the Corinthians obtained freedom. Of the internal organization of their republican constitution, we only know that there were popular assemblies and a senate. It appears to have been the aristocracy of a commercial state; for even the Bacchiadae, at least some of them, were merchants.—The commerce of Corinth consisted principally in the exchange of Asiatic and Italian goods, and was, therefore, mostly maritime, which was favored by the situation of their city, together with the state of navigation at that time; but their commerce on the seas never became extensive, however profitable it was for the citizens, and, by means of the customs, for the state. Their colonies, especially in the West, were Corcyra, Epidamnus, Leucas, Syracuse, and in the East. Potidaea, which they would have been glad to keep in a kind of dependence, yet were not able to do so long. By them however, and by the necessity of protecting its shipping against pirates, Corinth became a naval power, invented the triremes, and engaged, as early as 664, in a naval battle with the Corcyreans. Their wars on land they generally carried on by means of foreign mercenaries, and for that reason, the more easily they could procure and pay these hired troops, the more frequently they interested themselves in the internal wars of Greece.

d. SICYON. Tradition makes it, next to Argos, the oldest state of Greece; the catalogue of ancient kings and priests, who are said to have reigned there, must make it probable, that here too, in early antiquity, settlements of priests must

have been established. Before the emigration of the Dorians, Sicyon was first inhabited by Ionians, but belonged, about the time of the Trojan war, to the kingdom of Agamemnon. At the time of the irruption of the Dorians, Phalces, the son of Temenus, seized Sicyon, which now became a Dorian city. After the abolishment of the royal dignity, the period of which is uncertain, the government degenerated, as is common, into a licentious democracy, which, as usual, paved the way for the usurpation of an individual. Orthagoras, and his descendants, the last and the most famous of whom was Clisthenes, ruled over Sicyon a whole century, 700—600. Even after the restoration of freedom, the Sicyonians frequently endured civil revolutions, and the period of their glory commences in the last ages of Greece, when it became a member of the Achaian league.

e. ACHAIA. As the Hellenes became extended, this country, which was before called Aegialus, was occupied by Ion and his family who had been expelled from Athens, whence they derived the name of Ionians; till these in their turn were driven out by the Achaians, who had been forced from Argos and Laconica. The Achaians settled there under Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, whose descendants succeeded him in power, till the tyranny of the last of them, Gyges, (uncertain when?) caused the abolition of monarchy. Achaia was then divided into 12 small republics, or the same number of cities with their demesnes, each of which consisted of 7—8 wards. All of them were possessed of democratical forms of government and stood in a connection with each other, which was based upon the most perfect equality, and endured till dissolved by the policy of the Macedonian kings; although this very dissolution gave occasion to the Achaian league, which was afterwards of so much importance. The Achaians lived peaceably and happily, because they had not the folly to interest themselves during the Peloponnesian war in the quarrels of others, and their constitutions be-

came so renowned, that several foreign Grecian cities adopted them.

f. **ELIS.** The inhabitants bore, in the most ancient times, the name of Epeans, which like the name of Elians, was derived from one of the early kings. The names of these, their most ancient chieftains, as well as that of Endymion, Epeus, Eleus, Augias, are famous in the poets. There appear to have generally been several small kingdoms in this country, for in the times of Troy, there were four of them, to which that of Pylus in Triphylia was added, which country is usually counted with Elis. At the Doric emigration, the Actolians settled themselves under their leader Oxylus in Elis, so however that the ancient inhabitants remained with them. Of his successors, Iphitus, the contemporary of Lycurgus is famous as the restorer of the Olympian games, the solemnities of which were ever afterwards indebted to Elis for their splendor as well as their tranquillity, because the territory of Elis was considered sacred; although it was obliged to carry on some wars with its neighbors, the Arcadians, for the precedence in these games. After the abolition of the royal dignity in 780, chief magistrates were chosen, who possessed at the same time the superintendence of these games (*Hellanodicae*). Of these there were at first two, afterwards ten, one from each tribe, (although their number frequently changed with the number of tribes). They must further have had a senate, consisting of ninety persons, who retained their office for life, which senate is mentioned by Aristotle.

The city of Elis was not built till 477. Before that time the Elians lived in several small places.

II. IN MIDDLE GREECE. (HELLAS.)

a. The state of Megara. Till the Dorian emigration, it generally stood under the kings of Attica, or at least under princes from their family; although the Megarians, just before this occurrence, after the murder of their last king

Hyperion, put the government into the hands of magistrates who were elected and held their office for a limited time. At the irruption of the Dorians in the time of Codrus, Megara was occupied by Dorians and especially Corinthians who for that reason considered the city as their colony, and wished, in the period of the Bacchiadae, to keep them in dependence, which was the cause of several wars. Still Megara preserved its independence as a state, both during these and many following wars among the Greeks, in which it engaged by sea as well as land. Theagenes, the father in law of the Athenian Cylon, had obtained the supremacy about the year 600. After his expulsion, the republican form of government was restored, but soon degenerated into a mobocracy. Yet Megara again appears in the time of the Persian war, in which it honorably engaged, as a well regulated state, although we have no accounts respecting the internal character of its government.

b. BOEOTIA. History makes mention of several ancient nations in Boeotia, as Aones, Hyantes, &c. with whom the Phenicians, who had emigrated under Cadmus, were amalgamated. The race of Cadmus became the reigning one, and remained so for a long time, and the history of his descendants, the kings of Thebes, who reigned over the greater part of Boeotia, as Oedipus, Laius, Eteocles and Polynices, composes a principal branch of Grecian mythology. After the conquest of Thebes by the Epigoni, 1215, the Boeotians were driven out by the nations of Thrace and settled again in Arne in Thessaly, but, united with the Aeolians of that place, returned to their country at the time of the Dorian emigration. Soon afterwards, in 1126, after the death of Xuthus, the royal dignity was abolished. Boeotia too was now divided into as many petty states, as there were cities, of which, besides Thebes, the cities Plataeae, Thespieae, Tanagra and Chaeronea, were the principal, each of which had its own territory and internal government, which appear to have all degenerated, at the time of the Per-

gian wars, into oligarchies. This was also the case in Thebes, which had had a law giver from Corinth, Philolaus, whose code cannot however have been productive of much benefit, since the government continued to waver between a licentious democracy and oligarchy. The cities of Boeotia had, in the mean time, formed a confederacy, of which Thebes was the head ; but this superior rank by degrees degenerated into a supremacy, to which single states, Plataeae especially, made a violent opposition which was the cause of many wars. The general affairs of the country were discussed in four assemblies, which were held in the four districts into which Boeotia was divided, and which together chose eleven Boeotarchs, who stood as chief magistrates at the head of the confederacy and at the same time had the command of the armies. From the extent and population of their territory, the Boeotians might have played the first part in Greece, if it had not been prevented by the bad government of the cities, by jealousy of Thebes and the consequent want of union. And yet the example of Epaminondas and Pelopidas afterwards showed that the genius of two men could outweigh all these defects.

c. PHOCIS, was originally governed by kings, descended, as it was said, from Phocus, who led to Phocis a colony from Corinth. The royal dignity was abolished about the time of the Dorian emigration ; but the form of the following republican constitution is uncertain, and of the undertakings of the Phocians, before the Persian wars, it is only known that they carried on successful wars with the Thessalians. Since mention is always made, in history, of the Phocians in general, the whole country must have formed one small free state. The city of Delphi, however, did not appertain to it, but had its own government ; the city Crissa too, with its fertile territory and the harbor of Cirrha, formed, till about 600, a small state rich by exactions from the pilgrims to Delphi ; in which year, on account of the injury done to the Delphic oracle, war was declared against

it by the Amphictyons, which resulted, 590, in the destruction of Crissa, and its territory was made sacred.

d. LOCRI. Although we know from early history, that the Locrians too had their kings, among whom Ajax, the son of Oileus, is famous in the Trojan war, and that afterwards republican forms of government were introduced, neither the time when, nor the manner in which it happened is known. The three tribes of the Locri remained politically distinct. The Locri Ozolae in the west of Phocis possessed the greatest territory, in which each city appears to have been independent, although Amphissa is named as the principal place. The country of the Locri Opuntii in the East, composed the territory of the city of Opus, with the internal government of which, and that of their neighbors, the Locri Epicnemidii, we are entirely unacquainted.

e. ÆTOLIA. The Ætolians remained the most rude and uncivilized of all the Grecian nations, for they were not much more than a nation of robbers, and they carried on their robberies, both by sea and land. Famous as are the names of their most ancient heroes, such as Aetolus, Peneus, Meleager and Diomed, they entirely disappeared from history in the flourishing period of Greece, and did not become famous before the Macedonian-Roman period, when the single small nations that belonged to them, formed a closer union, and chose a common leader, to carry on war against the Achaïans. Such a common alliance seems not to have existed in earlier periods; of the internal department of their government at that time, nothing is known.

f. ACARNANIA. The country derived its name from Acarnan, the son of Alcmaeon, both of whom are mentioned as the earliest kings. In the Trojan age, a part of it at least appears to have been subject to the rulers of the neighboring island of Ithaca. When and how the republican government was introduced among the Acarnanians, and what was its nature, is uncertain. This much is seen, that here too the different cities, of which Stratus was the principal,

had each a government of its own. These states formed alliances, as circumstances required, whence a lasting union arose in the Macedonian period. For a long time the city of Argos Amphiloichicum, with its territory, formed a state of itself, which derived its name from Amphiloichus, its founder, and was very flourishing. But when the inhabitants were driven out by the Ambracians, whom they themselves had invited, they sought assistance from the Acarnanians, who, supported by the Athenians, restored them to the possession of their city, which was afterwards inhabited in common by the Amphiloichians and Acarnanians, and was almost continually engaged in wars with Ambracia.

III. NORTHERN GREECE.

a. **THESSALY.** How important Thessaly is for the ancient history of the Greeks, is evident from the principal data given above for the history of the Pelasgi and Hellenes, which last people especially spread itself from thence over Greece, at the same time maintaining its residence in Thessaly. In the Trojan period, Thessaly contained ten small kingdoms, governed by chiefs, several of whom, as for instance, Achilles and Philoctetes, were among the most famous heroes of the time. After the Trojan war and the Dorian migration, Thessaly also must have experienced similar political revolutions, but neither the time nor the manner can be defined. This much is known from subsequent history, the cities of Thessaly knew not how to preserve their political liberty, if they ever possessed it, for in the two principal cities, Pherae and Larissa, upon whose history depends, in a great degree, the history of the country, arbitrary rulers had acquired the highest power, which they appear to have preserved, almost without interruption. In Larissa, even before the beginning of the Persian war, the race of the family of Aleuadae reigned, who pretended to derive their descent from Hercules, and in Herodotus are called the kings of Thessaly. They maintained their power

till the Macedonian period.—In Pherae there sprang up, though not before 380, a tyrant, Jason, who reigned not only over Thessaly, but also over several of the neighboring barbarous nations, and who was followed, in quick succession, by his three brothers, Polydorus, Polyphron, and Alexander, the last of whom was first driven from Larissa, by the Aleuadae, with the assistance of the Macedonians, then attacked by Pelopidas, and, finally, at the instigation of his wife, Thebe, was murdered by her brothers, Lycophron and Tisiphonus, 356, who then usurped the government, but, at the request of the Aleuadae, were dispossessed by Philip, of Macedon. Single instances of such tyrants occur, at times, in the other cities of Thessaly, as in Pharsalus, &c.

b. EPIRUS. This country was inhabited by several nations, partly Greek, partly not. Of these nations, the most powerful was that of the Molossi, who were governed by kings of the house of the Aeacidae, descendants of Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. This Grecian dynasty was the only one which, without interruption, retained the royal dignity; though their kings, before the Macedonian period, were by no means masters of all Epirus, but the other nations that were not Grecian, as the Thesprotians, the Orestians, &c., had their own kings; and besides, Ambracia, the colony of Corinth, formed a state of itself, which was possessed of a republican constitution, but was frequently governed by tyrants. Through the alliance with the kings of Epirus, however, the kings of the Molossi became masters both of all Epirus and of Ambracia, and several of them, as especially Pyrrhus II. then appeared on the theatre of the world as extensive conquerors. (See below.)

IV. THE GRECIAN ISLANDS.

The islands, immediately round Greece, as well as those in the Archipelago, after they, on the expulsion of the more ancient inhabitants, who were not Grecians, such as the Phenicians, the Carians, &c. were occupied by the

Hellenes, all of them passed through the same political changes as the states of the continent. In the larger islands, which contained several cities, there generally sprang up as many small republics as there were cities, which used to establish connexions among themselves ; of the smaller, when there was but one city, of which the island formed the territory, each constituted a small free state of itself. The independence of these islands, in fact, endured only till the Persian wars, for since the Athenians by these came to the head of allied Greece, and usurped the dominion of the sea, these island states were, under the name of allies, treated but little better than subjects, except that their constitutions were not changed. Of the islands round Greece, those principally remarkable in history are :

a. *Corcyra*, a colony of *Corinth*, was distinguished for its naval power and commerce ; in which it became the rival of *Corinth*, and engaged in many contests and wars, and was also a principal cause of the breaking out of the *Peloponnesian* war. About the beginning of this war, *Corcyra* stood at the summit of its power ; at that time it could alone send out a fleet of 120 galleys ; its government like that of *Corinth* appears to have been, aristocratic or oligarchical ; but after the *Persian* war, a democratic party was formed, from which the most violent of their internal commotions originated, and produced the ruin of *Corcyra*.

b. *Aegina*. This small island was, after the *Dorian* migration, inhabited by colonists from *Epidaurus*, but shortly after, freed itself from the dominion of *Epidaurus*, and, at an early period, arose to be one of the first of the *Grecian* states, by commerce and navigation. *Aegina* was for a long time the rival of *Athens*, to which it was superior, till the *Persian* war, by means of its naval power. But humbled in 485, by *Themistocles*, it could not maintain itself against the immense force of *Athens* at that time, and, if it afterwards sought to become independent, it was only so much the more severely punished for it. Besides it suffered even

before the Persian war by internal commotions, an aristocratic and democratic faction persecuting each other with the greatest animosity.

Aegineticorum liber ; scripsit C. O. Müller 1817. This investigation embraces, in addition to political history, the history of commerce and the fine arts in Aegina.

c. **EUBOEAE.** The different cities of this island, Chalcis and Eretria especially, had each their own internal constitution, which was in both aristocratic, since the government was vested in the hands of the wealthy (the Hippobatae) ; though mention is made of tyrants in Chalcis. After the Persian war, Euboea became dependent on Athens, which received thence, in part, its supplies of the necessaries of life. The oppression of the Athenians inclined the Euboeans to rebellion, and they were afterwards ready to break free, whenever an opportunity offered, as in 446 when they were reconquered by Pericles, and repeatedly during the Peloponnesian wars.

d. The **CYCLADES** were first occupied by colonies from Crete, under Minos. The Carian nation had before this spread over them, but was gradually driven out by Grecians, principally of the Ionian and Dorian races. Of these islands, the most important were Delos, the principal place of the Ionians, which became, under the protection of Apollo, a considerable commercial place, and during the Persian war, 479, was the treasury of Greece ; Paros, famous for its marble, and for the opposition it made to Miltiades 489, although at last it met with the same fate as the other islands, becoming subject to the Athenians. We are not accurately acquainted with the governments of the other small islands. Each of them contained a city of the same name with the island, of which city the island constituted the territory.

e. **CRETE.** The inhabitants of Crete were not Grecians alone, but of mixed origin, as the Curetes, for instance, the Pelasgi, &c. ; with whom Grecians of the Dorian and Aeolian race were intermingled. In the earlier age, Crete

had its kings ; among them, Minos, about 1300, probably the first master of the whole island, his brother Radamanthus, and Idomeneus and Meriones, who accompanied the former in the expedition against Troy and was his successor, as well as the last king Etearchus, about 800, after whom the government became republican, are the most renowned. Even under these kings Crete was powerful at sea, and to Minos is ascribed the merit of having cleared the Aegean sea of pirates by his fleets, of having settled the islands, and rendered navigation secure. To him the code of the Cretans is attributed, which is said to have been formed on the model of that of Lycurgus. But our ignorance of what belongs to Minos and what does not, is much greater than in the case of Lycurgus ; much that is ascribed to him as legal institutions, was nothing more than ancient Dorian customs. The situation of Crete, which, as an island, was not much exposed to foreign attacks, and the contiguity of Egypt and Phenicia, may incontestibly have contributed much towards developing the seeds of political culture. The abolishing of the royal dignity, appears to have been effected by internal commotions, to which Crete was still frequently exposed under the republican government. They originated in the jealousy of the larger cities, Gortyna and Gnossus, which, when united, governed the others, but when they engaged in quarrels, shook the peace of the whole island, in which case, the city Cydonia, by acceding to one side or the other, usually gave the decision. The laws of Minos concerning the regulation of private life, which were like the Spartan, were introduced into all the cities of the island, but fell into decay in them, sooner than they did on the mainland. Each city had its own constitution, each had its own senate, at the head of which stood ten overseers, as chief magistrates, who were chosen from certain families, who also had the command in the wars, which the Cretans seldom waged with foreigners, but so much the oftener among themselves, by which both their constitution and their national character must necessarily have been corrupted.

Meursii, Creta, Rhodus, Cyprus, 1675. 4to. Very industrious compilations. Still the inscriptions, made public by Chishull, in *Antiq. Asiaticae*, 1728, fol., have diffused new light. Use was made of them by St. Croix des anciens &c. (see above, p. 131); which is the leading work on Crete.

f. CYPRUS. This island was, and continued to be occupied by inhabitants of very different origin, who, even in the time of Herodotus, traced their descent, partly from the Phenicians, partly from the Africans (*Æthiopians*), partly from Greeks of Arcadia, Attica, and the island, Salamis; of which the city Salamis, founded by Teucer about 1160, was a colony. It is certain that, during the earlier period, the Phenicians were, for a long time, the ruling people in the island; for in the blooming period of Tyre, the Cyprians revolted against these, their oppressors, at the time when Tyre was attacked by Salmanassar, in 720; and Phenician monuments are still found on the island. From this time till the Persian period, an intimate relation with the Phenicians, but not actual dependence on them, appears to have existed; on the contrary, several small kingdoms were formed in the different cities of the island, to the number of nine, which were tributary to the Egyptians under Amasis, about 550, and to the Persians under Cambyses, about 525, still, however, retaining their own kings. During the dominion of the Persians, the Cyprians frequently engaged in rebellions against them, the kings of Salamis especially, who were then the most powerful. As early as the year 500, Onesilus took the part of the rebel Ionians, but was defeated. During the subsequent Persian-Grecian wars, Cyprus was often attacked by the allied fleets of Greece, (for instance, by Pausanias, in 470, and under Evagoras I. 449, by Cimon, who died at the siege of Citium); but the Persians were never driven out, and appear to have maintained themselves there, even after the peace in 449. Among the following kings of Salamis, Evagoras II., between 400—

390, was master of the greater part of the island, but, Cyprus being given up to the Persians in the peace of Antalcidas, 387, he was obliged to wage a violent war with them, in which he retained nothing but Salamis. The Cyprians afterwards, 356, engaged again in the rebellion of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, when the Persians sent against them an army, led by a younger Evagoras, who had been expelled by his uncle, Protagoras, and the Athenian Phocion, who besieged Salamis. The matter was settled by a treaty. The nine small kingdoms on the island remained till the time of Alexander; as whose allies they came forward voluntarily during the siege of Tyre, after which Cyprus became a part of the Macedonian monarchy.

2. *History of the Grecian Colonies.* *

Raoul Rochette. *Histoire critique de l'établissement des Colonies Grecques.* Paris. 1815. vol. iv. The most comprehensive examination of the subject. It embraces not only the colonies of the Hellenes, but those also established at an earlier period by the Pelasgi, and afterwards by the Macedonians. Much erudition, but little criticism of his authorities.

Geographische und historische Nachrichten die colonien der Griechen betreffend von D. H. Hegewisch. Altona. 1808. 8vo. A cursory view of the subject.

St. Croix de l'état et du sort des Colonies des anciens peuples. Paris. 1786. Very valuable illustrations.

1. No people of the ancient world has established so many colonies as the Grecians, and these have become so important in many respects, that we

* To facilitate the student in taking a general view, we continue the history of the Colonies at once, during the following period.

cannot have a perfect view of the early history of the world, without an acquaintance with them. For not only *a.* the history of the progressive culture of the mother country depends in a great measure upon them, but also *b.* the history of ancient commerce; and also, *c.* several of these colonies have become so important, that they had the greatest influence on political history.

2. The Grecian colonies, of which we now speak, are those founded between the times of the Doric migration, and the Macedonian period. That even before this migration, colonists of the Pelasgi, and perhaps of the Hellenes, had crossed over into Italy, is hardly to be doubted, but partly, the particulars are uncertain, and partly, they afterwards ceased to be Grecians; the later colonies of the Macedonians were of an entirely different nature.

3. The branch of the Hellenes spread itself by degrees, both over the eastern and the western side of Greece; but the Grecian settlements on the banks of the Mediterranean and the Black sea, continued to be limited. Their principal sites of colonies were here in the East, the coasts of Asia-Minor and Thrace, and in the West, the coasts of the south of Italy and Sicily. Single colonies are, however, found scattered along the banks of almost all the other countries.

4. The Grecian colonies were founded, partly from political reasons, chiefly according to the directions, and on the impulse of the Oracles, (as the extension of the worship of the mother cities was always connected with them); partly for the sake of commerce. The first is true, almost without

exception, of all the colonies established by the mother country itself; the second, of those, which were, on the contrary, colonies from other colonies, that had risen into consequence by their commerce;—and almost all the Grecian colonies became more or less commercial cities, although that might not have been the design for which they were established.

5. The relation between the colonies and the original cities, was generally defined by the cause of their settlement. When a city was founded by discontented or exiled emigrants, no degree of dependence existed of itself, and even in the commercial colonies, this dependence was very weak, and never permanent, since the mother cities wanted power if not the will, to preserve them. But through this very independence of so many colonies, which were founded, almost without exception, in the most fertile regions of the earth, and under the fairest sky, and adapted by their situation to navigation and commerce, the culture of the Grecian nation, must not only have made the greatest progress, but also must have attained a character of universality, such as no other nation of the world, at that time, could have attained. What a mass, especially of political ideas, must have been put in circulation, where, of several hundred colonies, each had its own constitution.

6. The earliest, and in many respects the most important of these colonies, were those along the western coast of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the boundaries of Cilicia. Settlements had been made here since the time of the Trojan war, when

they first became acquainted with these regions by Grecians of the then principal branches, Aeolians, Ionians and Dorians. These were the most important for commerce, and as at the same time, epic and lyric poetry here, in the native land of Homer (the father of Grecian culture), of Alcaeus and Sappho, unfolded their first and fairest blossoms, the taste of the nation, even in the mother country, received from them its first direction.

1. The Aeolian Colonies. They were founded about 1124, and appear to have been a result of the Dorian migration, having been established during that great commotion in Greece. The Pelopidae, driven from the Peloponnesus, Orestes, Penthilus his son, Archelaus his grandson, and Grais his great grandson, were successively the leaders of the expedition, which consisted in a slow progress by land to the Hellespont, in several bands, which Boeotians and others gradually joined. In Asia they occupied a part of the coast of Mysia and Caria, which region was thence called Aeolis, and further, the islands of Lesbos, Tenedos, and Hecatonnesus. On the continent, in the district of Aeolis, called so from them, they built twelve cities, of which Cyme and Smyrna were the principal, which last city came afterwards into the possession of the Ionians. Their principal settlements were on the island of Lesbos, where they inhabited five cities, the largest of which, and of all their colonies, was Mitylene. They had also spread themselves into the interior, as far as mount Ida. All these cities were, each for itself, independent, and had their own constitutions, that underwent many revolutions. An attempt was frequently made to restore quiet, by electing arbitrary rulers, with the title of Aesymnetae, for a certain time, even for life, of whom Pittacus, in Mitylene, about 600, the contemporary of Sappho and Alcaeus, is best known. Their independence continued till Cyrus, (except that Smyrna was taken and destroyed

by the Lydians, about 600, and was not rebuilt till four hundred years after, by Antigonus, when its most flourishing period commences). The cities on the continent were obliged to surrender to the Persians, but not the islands. The Aeolian cities were not connected by a lasting bond ; in single cases only, their consultations were in common. Mitylene, which they considered as their capital, alone of them all, became rich and powerful by its trade, and considerably numerous navy ; yet that finally became tributary to the Athenians, 470, and, having thrown off its allegiance during the Peloponnesian war, and being reconquered, it was almost entirely destroyed by the Athenians.

2. The Ionian Colonies. They were founded at a later period, but were also a result of the Dorian migration. The Ionians, after having been expelled from the Peloponnesus by the Achaeans, proceeded to Athens, whence they embarked for Asia, 60 years after, about 1044, under the command of Neleus and other sons of Codrus. They were joined by Thebans, Phocians, Abantians, from Euboea, and other Greeks. They took possession in Asia of the southern coasts of Lydia and the northern of Caria, which from them bore the name of Ionia, besides the islands of Samos and Chios. They built twelve cities, from north to south ; on the continent, Phocaea, Erythrae, Clazomene, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, Miletus, and on the islands, Samos and Chios. They all had a common sanctuary, the temple of Neptune, Panionium, on the promontory of Mycale, where they solemnized their festivals, and counselled together concerning common affairs. But, nevertheless, each city was of itself independent ; they preserved their independence, till the times of the Merunadae in the kingdom of Lydia, and of the Persians, to whom they surrendered under Cyrus. Under the Persians they still retained, for the most part, their internal constitutions, and had to pay tribute. But they seized every opportunity to free themselves from it, and for that reason their history during the

following period is closely interwoven with that of Greece. Their internal forms of government were even now entirely republican, but they were subjected not only to continual factions, but frequently to single tyrants. Of the cities on the continent, Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocaea are principally worthy of remark. Miletus was the greatest commercial city of all. It was founded before the Dorian migration by the Carians, but was rendered rich and powerful by the Ionians. Its most flourishing period was between 700 and 500, in which year it engaged in the rebellion of Aristagoras against the Persians, and was destroyed by them for this reason in 496. Miletus never afterwards recovered its former prosperity. During its most flourishing period, Miletus was, after Tyre and Carthage, the first commercial city of the world. By sea, its commerce was principally with the Black Sea and the Palus Maeotis, the banks of which were on all sides occupied by its colonies, (of which it is said according to some accounts to have founded more than a hundred). By means of these colonies, it monopolized all the trade of the north in grain, dried fish, slaves and peltry. By land its trade proceeded along the military road, cut by the Persians, far into the interior of Asia. It had four harbors and its naval force was so considerable as often alone to furnish fleets of 80 to 100 vessels of war.—Phocaea. Its flourishing period was contemporary with that of Miletus; but ended with the commencement of the Persian dominion, for the Phocaeenses, to escape from the power of the Persians, preferred to leave their native city and emigrate to Corsica, although half of them, on reflection, afterwards returned. On sea, Phocaea possessed the most extensive commerce of all the Grecian cities, especially towards the west, as the Milesians towards the north. Their voyages extended as far as Gades; and the coasts of Italy, Gallia and especially of Corsica, were not merely visited by them, but they founded colonies there, as Alalia in Corsica, Elea in Italy, and especially Massilia on the coast of Gaul.—Ephesus. This

city was laid out by the Carians, but was occupied by Ionians. It maintained its independence till Croesus, who gained possession of it about 560. Its form of government was aristocratic. The government was placed in the hands of a senate, assisted by magistrates. The former royal family retained, however, certain privileges. Ephesus was never so commercial a city as Phocaea and Miletus. It was most famous on account of its temple of Diana, which was burned in 355 by Herostratus, but was rebuilt in a more splendid style. The period of the prosperity of Ephesus appears to have commenced about that time, when the prosperity of Phocaea and Miletus had a long time ceased. For in the Macedonian as well as in the Roman age, Ephesus was considered the first city in Asia Minor.—Among the cities on the islands, Samos was the most important for its trade and naval force. The days of its splendor were under the tyrant Polycrates 540—523, who had extended his dominion over the sea and the neighboring small islands. But when his brother Syloson, by the aid of the Persians 517, conquered the island, it was almost entirely laid waste. Soon after, Samos became dependent upon the Athenians, who introduced there a democratical constitution 440, and made it the station of their troops and fleets in the war with Sparta. Chios was but little inferior to Samos in power and riches. It came with the other Ionians under the sway of the Persians, and was so powerful that in the year 500, on the rebellion of Aristagoras, it was able to furnish the allied fleets with 98 vessels of war. After the defeat of Xerxes it acceded to the Athenian alliance, of which it sought to free itself in the Peloponnesian war. Its naval force was even at that time considerable, and it merits the great praise of not having become too proud through prosperity.

F. G. Rambach de Mileto ejusque coloniis. 1790. 4to.

3. The Dorian Colonies. These were founded on the continent of Asia Minor, on the south coasts of Caria, and on the islands Cos and Rhodes, but at a later period than

those of the Ionians, and by gradual migrations. The Dorians appear to have spread themselves by degrees, from the Peloponnesus, over the islands of the Archipelago, to the coasts of Asia, where they built the two cities of Halicarnassus and Cnidus, as on Rhodes the cities Ialyssus, Camirus, and Lindus, and on Cos the city of the same name.—These six ancient Dorian colonies, had, like the Ionians, a common sanctuary, the temple of Apollo Triopius, where they solemnized their festivals and held their deliberations. From this social union Halicarnassus was afterwards excluded. They remained independent till the Persian period. The constitutions of the single cities underwent great revolutions, having been changed by Cnidus (uncertain when?) from an oligarchy to a democracy. Halicarnassus was frequently governed by the kings of Caria, of whom Mausolus and Artemisia are known.—The three cities on Rhodes do not appear to have become very important; but after the attack upon Greece by Xerxes, the city of Rhodes was built which soon eclipsed the others. It appears to have been most flourishing after Alexander. Before this period the Dorian colonies were as little able as the Æolian, to compare, in wealth and the extent of their commerce, with the Ionian.

7. The coasts of the Propontis, of the Black Sea and the Palus Maeotis, were also studded with Grecian colonies. They were almost all colonies of the single city Miletus, but were themselves flourishing commercial cities. Although the time of the foundation of each cannot be defined, it must nevertheless have been between 800—600. They were not only masters of the navigation of the Black Sea, but extended their commerce over the whole of the south of Russia, and eastward to the countries on the other side of the Caspian Sea, or beyond the great Bucharia.

On the Propontis were situated Lampsacus (near the Hellespont), and Cizycus on an island, which was connected with the main land by bridges. It was one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities of Asia ; but not before the Roman age, when it was favored by the Romans. Opposite to it, on the Thracian bank, was Perinthus, afterwards called Heraclea ; and at the entrance of the Thracian Bosphorus, was Byzantium, and opposite to it, Chalcedon. The prosperity of all these cities evinces, how judiciously they selected sites for planting colonies.

Heyne *Antiquitas Byzantina*, Commentationes duae. 1809. The first contains the fragments of the more ancient history of Byzantium.

Colonies on the Black Sea, were : on the southern coast, in Bithynia, Heraclea, in the country of the Maryandini, it maintained its republican constitution, but with a violent contest, and changes between the oligarchical and democratic parties, till 370, when the victory of the democratic faction made way for the tyrant Elearchus, who abolished the senate, and whose family, even after his murder by two scholars of Plato, long preserved the government.—In Paphlagonia, Sinope, which was the most powerful of all the Grecian colonies on the Black Sea, and which for a long time, held the dominion of it. Its freedom and independence continued till about 100 years before Christ, when it came under the sway of the kings of Pontus, and afterwards of the Romans. Their principal source of subsistence consisted in taking the migratory fish, which came from the Palus Maeotis, and proceeded along the southern coast of the Black Sea to the Thracian Bosphorus.—In Pontus, Amisus, which met with the same fate as Sinope, and which was itself a colony of Trapezus.—On the Eastern coast, were the cities Phasis and Dioscurias, which, as well as Phanagoria, were the principal markets of the slave trade, and also, in the Macedonian period, of the products of India from beyond the Oxus and the Caspian sea.—On the Chersonesus Taurica,

Panticapaeum, capital of the small Grecian kingdom of Bosphorus, the kings of which (of whom Spartacus, about 439, and Leucon especially, about 350, are known) were allies of Athens, till Mithridates the Great established there his power. On the Northern coast, within the Palus Maeotis, was the city of Tanais at the mouth of the river of the same name, and Olbia at the mouth of the Borysthenes; these places and Olbia in particular, were of the greatest importance for inland trade, which was carried on there, both with the North and with the East, as far as the interior of Asia. The colonies on the Western coast, as, Apollonia, Tomi, Salmydessus, were less famous.

8. The coasts of Thrace and Macedonia, along the Ægean Sea, were likewise settled by Grecian colonies, from different cities, but especially from Corinth and Athens. The Athenians in particular, after having usurped the dominion of the sea in the Persian war, endeavored to gain there a strong hold. For this reason, the cities in these regions were involved in the contests and wars which were caused by the jealousy, first between Sparta and Athens, and afterwards between Athens and Macedonia, under the reign of Philip.

On the Thracian coast along the Hellespont, lay the Chersonesus Thracica, which was considered as the key of Europe, with Sestus, Cardia, and Aegospotamos, and farther on, the cities of Maronea and Abdera, a colony of Teos.—But the cities on the Macedonian coast were much more considerable: Amphipolis, Chalcis, Olynthus, and Potidaea. The first was a colony from Athens, established about 464, which Athens endeavored to keep in a state of dependence. Chalcis was a colony from the city of the same name in Euboea. It was dependent on Athens 470, but the inhabitants, having rebelled against Athens, made a voluntary emigration to Olynthus.—Olynthus derived its name from its found-

der, the son of Hercules, it was one of the most powerful cities in Thrace, but was nevertheless tributary to the Athenians. It remained, however, a flourishing city, and engaged in the wars between Athens and Sparta, till it was taken and destroyed by Philip of Macedon.—Potidaea was a colony of Corinth, from which annual magistrates were sent out. But having become tributary to Athens after the Persian war, and having rebelled 431, it was compelled to submit to Athens, and after the expulsion of the inhabitants, an Athenian colony was sent there. It remained Athenian, till it was conquered 358 by Philip of Macedon.

9. The Grecian colonies to the West of the mother country, were founded, almost without exception, at a later period than those on the Ægean and Black Seas. But they were no less flourishing; and although their trade never attained so great a compass, it was no less lucrative. The Western not only equalled the Eastern colonies in riches, but sometimes surpassed them in power, and distinguished themselves moreover by wise and permanent codes of laws. The establishment of most of them took place between 750 and 650, in the period, therefore, when republican forms of government had obtained in most of the cities of the mother country, and for that reason they were not wanting in internal commotions, and consequently in inducements to emigration.

1. Grecian colonies in Southern Italy. The greatest number and the most considerable of them, were established in the Gulf of Tarentum. They migrated, however, on the Western side as far as Naples. They were partly of Doric, partly of Achaian, partly of Ionic descent, and they were distinguished from each other, in the character of the governments, which, in the Dorian colonies, were generally

inclined to aristocracy, and in the others to democracy, although from the many changes which their governments have undergone, it is scarcely possible to settle any thing in general respecting them, except in reference to their earliest times. Of Dorian origin were Tarentum, with its colonies, Heraclea and Brundisium. Of Achaian origin were Sybaris and Croton, with its colonies Laus, Metapontum, Posidonia, which again founded Terina, Caulonia, and Pandosia. Those of Ionic origin were Thurii (on the site where Sybaris had stood), Rhegium, Elea, Cumae, and its colony, Neapolis. And Locri Epizephyrii, a colony of the Locri Ozolae, may be considered as an Aeolian colony.

Of the cities, most remarkable for general history, we name : *a.* Tarentum, founded by the Parthenii from Sparta, about 707. It carried on many wars with the native nations in the vicinity, the Messapians, the Lucani, &c., and was one of the richest and most powerful maritime cities. The period of its greatest prosperity appears to have been between 500 and 400 years before Christ. The too great wealth of Tarentum afterwards led to luxury, which relaxed the spirit of the people. It nevertheless maintained its independence till 273, when it fell under the empire of the Romans after the war with Pyrrhus. The government was at first a temperate aristocracy, that degenerated soon after the Persian war, 474, into a democracy, which, however, must have been mitigated by wise limitations. Tarentum had its senate, without which no war could be determined on, and magistrates, who were chosen, half by lot, half by the majority of voices in the popular assemblies. One of its most famous citizens is the Pythagorean Archytas, who frequently stood, since 390, at the head of the state as general and chief magistrate. The form of its constitution seems to have continued till the Roman period, although an almost incredible luxury had very much corrupted the spirit of the people.

b. Croton. Founded by Achaïans from Rhype in Achaia, led by Myscellus about the year 710. The city must have increased very much within the first century of its existence, since the Crotonians were able to furnish 120,000 men at the battle at Sagra against the Locri, probably about 600. And even the defeat which they here met, appears not to have weakened them a long time; for in 510 they attacked the Sybarites with about an equal force, and destroyed their city. The original constitution was, without doubt, a limited democracy, of which we know not the organization in detail. A reform was effected in the morals and governments both of Croton and several Italian-Grecian cities by Pythagoras, who went to Croton about 540, and established there the school or secret society called after him, which aimed, not at a revolution in the forms of government in the Italian cities, but at the formation of men capable of managing the helm of state. This reform and the influence of the Pythagoreans continued somewhere about thirty years, when their order met with the fate which secret societies, the members of which have political objects, seldom escape. It was abolished, probably about 510, by the democratic faction under Cylon. The result was a general anarchy, both in Croton, where, about 494, a certain Clinias usurped the supreme power, and in the other cities, which however was restrained by the mediation of the Achaïans. Upon this, the Achaïan colonies not only adopted the laws of their mother city, but also established, a short time after, about 460, in the temple of Jupiter Homorius, a league, at the head of which Croton, that had already risen again, appears to have stood. This prosperous condition continued till about 400. For after the kings of Syracuse commenced their attacks upon Magna Graecia, Croton was repeatedly taken by them, as in 389 by Dionysius I., and about 381, and again 299, by Agathocles, when it became dependent upon Rome after the war with Pyrrhus 277.

c. Sybaris was about 720 likewise founded by Achaïans.

intermingled with Troezenians. It stood till 510, when it was destroyed by Croton. It became, very soon after its establishment, one of the greatest, most wealthy and luxurious cities, so that the luxury of Sybaris has become a proverb. Sybaris appears to have stood at the summit of its prosperity from somewhere about 600 to 550. It had at that time a considerable territory, which comprehended four neighboring nations and twenty-five cities or towns. The great fertility of the soil, and the rights of citizenship extended to all foreigners increased the population, so that Sybaris is said to have furnished 300,000 men in the war against Croton.—The great wealth which Sybaris, as well as the other cities of this country possessed, flowed probably (as we know of Agrigentum) from the commercial intercourse with Africa and Gaul, particularly in oil and wine. The government of Sybaris was also, in all probability, a limited democracy, till a certain Telys usurped the supreme power about the year 510, expelling five hundred of the Optimates, who fled to Croton. The Crotonians having received them, and the ambassadors of Croton being put to death by the Sybarites, a war arose between these two cities which ended in 510 with the defeat of the Sybarites, and the destruction of their city.

d. Thurii, founded in 446, near the former Sybaris, from Athens. Still the inhabitants were of mixed origin, which gave rise in the beginning to many internal commotions, and contentions concerning the true founders of the city, till it was declared by the Delphian Oracle 433, a colony of Apollo. The government was at first a limited democracy, which soon degenerated into an oligarchy, the families of the Sybarites which had migrated with them seizing the government and the best lands. These were again expelled, and Thurii increased by the influx of many new colonists from Greece, and obtained a better constitution by adopting the laws of Charondas from Catana. The Thurii found their principal enemy in the Lu-

cani, by whom they were conquered 390. The repeated attacks of the Lucani, obliged them to seek protection from the Romans 280, but they were nevertheless soon after attacked and defeated by the Tarentines. Thurii now became subject to Rome, and, it having suffered severely in the Carthaginian wars, a Roman colony was at last established there.

e. Locri Epizephyrii. Although there is a contention concerning their descent, the reason of it, as with most other cities, is partly that colonies were sent out more than once, and partly, that those sent out consisted of a mixture of different branches of Greeks. The principal colony was founded 683 by the Locri Ozolae. After great internal commotions, the Locri obtained about 660 a lawgiver in Zaleucus, whose regulations remained unaltered 200 years. The government was aristocratic, for the administration was in the hands of one hundred families. The chief magistrate was called Cosmopolis. The senate consisted of 1000 members, and was probably a deputation of the citizens, possessing entirely, or in part, the legislative power. The care of the laws was committed to the nomophylaces, as in other Grecian cities. Locri was indeed neither so wealthy nor so luxurious as the above mentioned cities, but on the contrary it distinguished itself by the good morals and quiet behavior of its citizens, who were contented with their government. The city continued in a flourishing state till the times of Dionysius II., who, having been expelled from Syracuse 356, fled with his party to Locri (the native country of his mother), and by his haughtiness and licentiousness effected the ruin of the morals of the city, for which the Locrians revenged themselves on his family after his return to Syracuse in 347. Locri afterwards maintained its independence, till the times of Pyrrhus, who in 277 settled a garri-son there, which the Locrians murdered and acceded to the side of the Romans, but were nevertheless pillaged by Pyrrhus 275. After this time Locri remained as an al-

lied city, dependent upon Rome, but suffered severely in the second Punic war.

f. Rhegium. This city was founded from Chalcis in Euboea 668. The government was aristocratic, the supreme power being vested in the hands of a senate of 1000 men, which was chosen from the Messenian families only, who had settled there with the first colonists. Thence arose an oligarchy, by which Anaxilaus in 494 opened a way for himself to the monarchy, in which he was succeeded by his sons, 476. They having been expelled in 464, commotions arose, which were quieted after some time by the adoption of the laws of Charondas. Rhegium now enjoyed a more prosperous period, till conquered and destroyed, 392, by Dionysius I. Dionysius II. rebuilt it in some degree, but in 281, a Roman legion, sent there to garrison it, seized on the city and put the inhabitants to the sword. For this they were punished with death 271, but Rhegium continued in a state of dependence upon Rome.

g. Cumae, founded 1030 from Chalcis in Euboea. This city, at a very early period, attained a high degree of power and prosperity; since it was possessed of a considerable territory, and an important naval force, and founded Neapolis and Zancle (or Messina) in Sicily. The constitution was a limited aristocracy, which was destroyed by the tyrant Aristodemus. Cumae was repeatedly attacked by the Italian nations, as in 564 by the allied Etrusci and Daunii, who conquered it. It defeated however the Etrusci on sea, 474, but was taken, 420, by the Campani, with whom it came, 345, under the empire of Rome. By its harbor Puteoli, Cumae remained, even under the Romans, an important city.

Heyne *Prolusiones* 16 de civitatum Graecarum per Magnam Graeciam et Siciliam institutis et legibus. Complete in *Opuscula*, vol. II.

2. Grecian Colonies in Sicily. They occupied the Eastern and Southern coasts of the island, were founded

about the same time as those in Magna Graecia, and belonged partly to the Dorian, partly to the Ionian branch. Of Dorian origin were : Messana and Tyndaris, from Messene ; Syracuse, which in turn founded Acrae, Casmenae, and Camarina, from Corinth ; Hybla and Thapsus, from Megara ; Segeste from Thessaly ; Heraclea Minoa from Crete ; Gela, the founder of Agrigentum, from Rhodes ; and also Lipara on the small island of that name from Cnidus. Of Ionian origin were : Naxos, the founder of Leontini, Catana and Tauromenium, from Chalcis ; Zancle, (after the introduction of Messenian colonists, Messana,) founded from Cumae, which also established Himera and Mylae. The most remarkable of these states for general history are :

a. Syracuse, the most powerful of all the Grecian colonies, and for that reason the one concerning the affairs of which we have the most information. Its history, on which the history of Sicily in a great measure depends, it having been for some time mistress of the greater part of the island, comprises four periods. 1. From its foundation 735, till Gelon 484 (251 years). During this period Syracuse was a republic, but does not appear to have increased much. It already however founded the colonies, Acrae 665, Casmenae 645, and Camarina 600. It was preserved from the attack of Hippocrates, king of Gelon about 497, only by the aid of Corinth its mother-state and Corcyra, and was nevertheless obliged to surrender Camarina to him. The constitution was aristocratic, but not without internal commotions. The government was placed in the hands of the rich, who were soon expelled by the democratic faction and an insurrection of the slaves, about 485. They fled to Casmenae and were restored by the help of Gelon, ruler of Gela, who himself usurped the supreme power. 2. From Gelon to the expulsion of Thrasybulus, 484—466. The three brothers, Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, reigned over Syracuse in succession, Gelon 484—477. He laid the foundation of the greatness of Syracuse. and at the same time of his own

power, partly by the augmentation of the number of inhabitants by the settlement of new citizens from other Grecian cities, and partly by the great victory which he gained over the Carthaginians, who were in alliance with the Persians. Even at that time Syracuse was more powerful both by land and sea, than any of the states in Greece itself, so that Gelon could claim the chief command in the Persian war, Sparta and Athens asking his assistance. His beneficent reign not only procured the love of the Syracusans during his life, but also a grateful veneration as a hero after his death. He died 477, and was succeeded by his brother Hiero I., before governor of Gela. His reign was brilliant from the splendor of his court and the encouragement, extended to the arts and sciences. His power was confirmed by the settlement of new citizens both in Syracuse and the dependent cities, Catana and Naxos, the inhabitants of which were transferred to Leontini.—Wars with Theron 476 and his son Thrasydaeus, tyrant of Agrigentum, which made a treaty with Syracuse after the expulsion of the tyrant ; and victory of his fleet, which came to the assistance of Cumae, over the Etrusci. Dying in 467 he was succeeded by his son Thrasybulus who was expelled, eight months after, for his cruelty, by the Syracusians and the allied cities. 3. From the expulsion of Thrasybulus to the elevation of Dionysius I. Syracuse was a democratic republic, from 466—405. Re-establishment of republican forms of government in the rest of the Grecian cities. Here especially, on account of the expulsion of the new citizens and the restoration of the old to their property, it was connected with much commotion and even civil war. Increasing power and prosperity of Syracuse, that now became the head of the allied Grecian cities, but soon attempts to change its precedence in rank into a kind of supremacy in power. The new democratic constitution was weakened by the usual evils. A vain attempt to do away these evils, was made by the introduction of *petalism* 454. In the mean time, the intimate alliance of the Sicilians,

the former inhabitants of Sicily, under their leader Ducetius, having for its aim the expulsion of the Greeks 451, forces the Syracusians to repeated wars with them. Their authority was now strengthened by the victorious termination of these wars, and the subjugation of the ambitious city of Agrigentum 446, and also by their naval victory over the Etrusci. First but fruitless attempt of the Athenians to interfere in the internal affairs of Sicily, by assisting the Leontini against Syracuse 427; but eleven years after, the great expedition against Syracuse 415—413, is occasioned by the contests between Segesta and Selinus, and terminates in the entire destruction of the Athenian fleet and army, (see below); and Syracuse rises to the highest summit of its power. The immediately subsequent reform in the constitution effected by Diocles 412, whose laws were adopted by many other Sicilian cities. The other laws, which appear to have referred principally to crimes, were the work of a commission, at the head of which Diocles stood, and were so beneficial to Syracuse, that a temple was erected to him after his death. But in 410, the contests between Segesta and Selinus again gave rise to a war with Carthage, from which the Segestani had sought assistance, and by this the situation of affairs in Sicily was entirely changed. The great progress of the Carthaginians, who, under Hannibal, the son of Gisco, had taken Selinus and Himera in 409 and Agrigentum in 406, engendered internal discords and factions in Syracuse, through which the crafty Dionysius knew how to obtain, first the office of general, and, after the banishment of his colleagues in 405, the supreme power of Syracuse. 4. From Dionysius I. till taken by the Romans 405—212. Dionysius I. 405—368. The commencement of his reign was ominous, from the defeat at Gela and sedition among his troops. The plague in the Carthaginian army leads to peace in 405, in which Carthage, besides its former territory, retains all the conquests it had acquired, and Gela and Camarina. But the project of subjugating the whole island and then Magna Graecia, by driv-

ing the Carthaginians from Sicily, produces a long series of wars both with Carthage and the cities of Magna Graecia. Second war with Carthage against Hannibal and Himilcon 398—392. Dionysius loses all his former conquests and is besieged in Syracuse itself, but a plague among the Carthaginians for the second time preserves him 396. Hostilities continued however till 392, when a peace was ratified in which Carthage resigned the city of Tauromenium. In the mean time attacks had been made, since the year 394, upon the allied cities in southern Italy, in particular upon Rhegium, the principal settlement of the emigrants from Syracuse. After repeated attacks this city was obliged to surrender in 387. The third war with Carthage against Mago, occurred in 383. After a victory, and the still greater defeat of Dionysius, which immediately followed, the war was terminated in the same year by a peace, in which both retained their former possessions, so that the river Halycus was agreed upon as the boundary, by which Carthage retained Selinus and a part of the territory of Agrigentum. Fourth war. An attack by surprise of the Carthaginian cities, terminated however by a treaty. The decision in these wars depended almost always on the side, which the Sicilians, the most powerful native people in Sicily, embraced. Dionysius I. dying of poison in 386, Dionysius II. his eldest son by Doris, one of his wives from Locri, succeeded him, but under the guardianship of Dion, the brother of his other wife Aristomache. But neither Dion, nor his friend Plato, who was three times called to Syracuse, was able to improve the character of a prince, corrupt by education. Dion was banished in 360. He returns in 357 and puts himself in possession of Syracuse, while Dionysius was absent, to whom the citadel still remains faithful. Dionysius escapes by stratagem, having excited mistrust in the city towards Dion and discord between him and his general Heraclidas, and goes himself with his treasures to Italy. Dion is obliged to withdraw from the city, which is immediately pillaged by the troops from the

citadel. The Syracusians at this recall Dion, who makes himself master of the citadel and endeavors to re-establish the republican form of government, but soon falls a victim to the spirit of faction. He was murdered 354, by Callippus, who governed till 353, when he was deposed by Hipparinus, a brother of Dionysius, who retains the supreme power till 350. After an absence of ten years, Dionysius, for the second time, makes himself master of the city by surprise. His tyranny, the perfidy of Ictas of Gela, from whom the Syracusians request assistance, and who unites with the Carthaginians, and the attempts of this last power, impell them to apply to Corinth their mother-city, which sent Timoleon with a small force to their assistance in 345. Timoleon soon effected a change in the situation of affairs. He defeats Ictas and the Carthaginians, and Dionysius II is compelled, 343, to leave the country. He goes to Corinth and lives there as a private man. Re-establishment of the republican form of government, not only in Syracuse, where the laws of Diocles were again introduced, but also in the other Grecian cities. These republican governments were strengthened by a greater victory over Carthage 340. Timoleon died in the middle of his new creation 337; the noblest model of a republican, that history affords! Between 337—317, there occurs a chasm in the history of Syracuse. Wars with Agrigentum and the usurpation of Sosistratus, disturbed the foreign and domestic quiet. The Syracusians were already far too deeply corrupted, to support freedom without the personal authority of a Timoleon. They deserved their fate, when 317, the adventurer Agathocles usurped the supreme power and maintained it till 289. Renewal of the plan for the expulsion of the Carthaginians from the island, and the subjugation of Magna Graecia. Thence arose a new war with Carthage, in which he was beaten 311, and besieged in Syracuse itself. But by a bold stratagem he crosses over to Africa with a part of his fleet, and army, and there, generally victorious, prosecutes the war till 307, when the rebel-

lion of most of the Grecian cities in Sicily, calls him thither. His affairs in Africa soon declined. In the peace of 306, both parties retained what they had possessed before the war. His wars in Italy were confined to the plundering of Croton and the siege of the Bruttii ; in fact they were rather robbing expeditions than real wars. In the year 289 he died of poison and Maenon his murderer seizes the empire, but was expelled by his general Icetas and flies to the Carthaginians. Icetas governs as Praetor till 278, when Thynion usurps the government in his absence, but finds an opponent in Sosistratus, while the mercenary soldiers of Agathocles (the Mamertini) seize on Messina and the Carthaginians press forward to the gates of Syracuse. The Syracusians call to their assistance Pyrrhus of Epirus from Italy, who 277, makes himself master of almost all Sicily, as far as Lilybaeum, but drawing down the hatred of these cities by his haughtiness, is obliged to leave the island in 275. Hiero, a descendant of the ancient royal family, is then appointed general, who, defeating the Mamertini, is himself proclaimed king 269. At the breaking out of the war between Rome and Carthage, he deserts his alliance with Carthage and passes over to the Roman interest 263, by which he purchases a long and secure reign, till he died, of old age, in 215. Syracuse enjoyed under this wise prince a prosperity, which all its demagogues could never have effected. After his death, the Carthaginian party is victorious, which is embraced by his grandson Hieronymus, after whose murder 214, it retains the supremacy by the negotiations of Hannibal, while he contrived to put his friends Hippocrates and Epicydes at the head of affairs, who excite a war with Rome. By this war the ruin of Syracuse was effected after a long siege, made remarkable by the inventions of Archimedes 212. Its history remains a practical compendium of politics ; for where has the state ever existed, which has had so great and so varied experience, as Syracuse ?

The history of Syracuse (see the universal history of

Guthrie and Gray, 3d part), was at an early period disfigured by partiality. Concerning the locality of ancient Syracuse, Bartels *Briefe über Calabrien und Sicilien* Th. 3, with a plan.

Geschichte von Syracus von Gründung der Stadt bis auf den Umsturz der Freiheit durch Dionysius, von A. Arnold. Gotha. 1816.

b. Agrigentum, a colony of Gela, founded 582. After Syracuse, the first city of Sicily and frequently its rival. It retained at first the constitution of its mother-city, i. e. Doric or aristocratic. But soon after its foundation, it came under the power of tyrants, of whom Phalaris, probably from 566—534, is the first known. He was succeeded 534—488 by Alemanes, and then by Alcander, a mild governor, under whom Agrigentum is said to have become sufficiently wealthy. More famous than they, was Theron the contemporary and father in law of Gelon, who ruled from 488—472. In connexion with Gelon he defeated in 480 the Carthaginian army, and subjected to himself Himera. Thrasidæus, his son and successor, was defeated and expelled by Hiero, about 470, when a democracy was introduced among the Agrigentines, as allies of Syracuse. The following period from 470—405 is that in which Agrigentum, in the enjoyment of political freedom, attained the highest degree of public prosperity. It was one of the richest, most luxurious, and on account of its public monuments, one of the most splendid cities of the world, and it owed this wealth principally to the immense trade in oil and wine, which it carried on with Africa and Gaul; to which countries these products were not at that time natural. In the year 446, the Agrigentines, from the impulse of envy, attacked the Syracusians but were defeated. They took no part in the war with Athens; but when the Carthaginians invaded Sicily 405, Agrigentum was taken and destroyed by them. From this defeat Agrigentum recovered very slowly, and never entirely. It was in some degree restored again by Timoleon about

340, and was able, under Agathocles 307, to offer some resistance to the cities allied against him, but was vanquished. After the death of Agathocles, Phintias the tyrant usurped the supremacy, who was attacked in 278 by Icetas, of Syracuse. At the commencement of the first Punic war, Agrigentum was made a *dépôt* for arms by the Carthaginians, but was captured by the Romans 262.

c. The fate of the other Sicilian cities was more or less involved in that of Syracuse and Agrigentum. All were originally possessed of republican forms of government, but, although the Ionian colonies had a famous law-giver in Charondas (probably about 660) they, as well as the others, experienced the fate of being subjected to tyrants, either from among themselves, or to those of Syracuse, who repeatedly expelled the former inhabitants and introduced others more submissive to themselves; by which wars must have been multiplied. How much they suffered besides from the wars between Syracuse and Carthage, is shown by the preceding history. The periods of their establishment occurred in this order. Zancle, (afterwards called Messana), the most ancient, but uncertain when? Naxos 736. Syracuse, Hybla 735. Leontini, Catana 730. Gela 690. Acrae 665. Casmenae 645. Himera 639. Selinus 630. Agrigentum 582. The time of the others cannot be fixed.

3. On the other islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, there were only single Grecian colonies, as on Sardinia, the cities of Caralis and Olbia, the foundation of which is enveloped in uncertainty; on Corsica, Alaria (or Alalia), a colony of the Phocians, founded 561, whither the inhabitants of Phocaea itself fled, in 541, but after the naval battle with the Etrusci and Carthaginians 536, removed some to Rhegium, some to Massilia.

4. On the Gallic coast, Massilia, founded by the Phœceans driven from Corsica after the naval battle mentioned above 536, unless perhaps there was a more ancient settlement, which they only increased. Massalia soon became a

rich and powerful maritime city. The wars, which it waged on sea with the Carthaginians and the Etrusci, are only known to us by general accounts. Its territory on the continent was limited, but rich in oil and wine, and it nevertheless founded some colonies along the Spanish and Gallic coast, of which Antipolis, Nicaea and Olbia are best known. Its commerce was carried on, partly by sea, partly by land, through the interior of Gaul. Its constitution was a limited aristocracy. The supreme power was vested in the hands of a senate of 600, the members of which, Timuchi, held their office for life, but it was a necessary qualification that they should have been married, be the father of children, and for three generations have descended from citizens. At the head of the senate stood fifteen men, and the chief magistrates were triumvirs. Already in the year 218, Massilia was the ally of Rome, and increased through the favor of the Romans, who permitted it the enjoyment of freedom, until in the war between Pompey, on whose side it was, and Caesar, it was taken by the army of the latter 49. But it soon recovered, and under Augustus became the seat of literature and philosophy, which were there publicly taught as at Athens.

5. On the Spanish coast was situated Saguntum, a colony from the island of Zacynthus; the time of its settlement is uncertain. It became rich by commerce, but was destroyed by Hannibal at the beginning of the second Punic war 219, as the ally of Rome.

6. On the coast of Africa, Cyrene, founded by persons from the island of Thera 631, at the advice of the Delphic oracle. The constitution was at first monarchical. Kings: Battus I. the founder 631—591. His was afterwards the reigning family. Arcesilaus I. †575. Under his successor Battus II. the Fortunate, (†554) the colony was greatly increased by new Grecian emigrants. The Lybians, deprived of their lands, seek assistance from Apries, who is defeated, however, by the Cyrenians 570, and loses his king-

dom.—Arcesilaus II. †550. Rebellion of his brothers and settlement of Barca ; as an independent state, under its own kings. The Lybian subjects revolt. He is succeeded by Learchus, his brother or friend ; who endeavoring to gain possession of the government, is murdered in his turn, at the instigation of Eryxo, widow of Arcesilaus. Thus follows her son, Battus III. the lame †529. The royal power was much circumscribed by the laws of Demonax from Mantinea. The king retains only the income and the priestly dignity. His son, Arcesilaus III. becomes voluntarily tributary to the Persians ; endeavors in connexion with Pheretime his mother to restore the royal power, but is expelled ; he nevertheless afterwards recovers the possession of Cyrene. But governing with cruelty, he was assassinated in Barca, 520. Pheretime seeks help from Aryandes, the Persian satrap in Egypt, who makes himself master of the city of Barca by stratagem, and transplants the inhabitants to Bactria ; 512. Pheretime died soon after. Probably a Battus IV. and Arcesilaus IV, (to whom Pindar's IV. V. Pyth. Odes may have been addressed,) afterwards reigned in Cyrene ; but their history is obscure. Cyrene then received a republican constitution, of the character of which we know nothing. But although it invited Plato to become its lawgiver, and actually had a lawgiver in Democles of Arcadia, it appears never to have possessed a good and permanent constitution. Mention is often made not only of domestic commotions, as those about 400, when most of the aristocratic party perished in the rebellion of Ariston, but frequently also of tyrants. Of its foreign contests we only have a general acquaintance with that with Carthage concerning the boundaries. After Alexander's time Cyrene became a portion of the Egyptian empire, as early as Ptolemaeus I. by his general Ophellas about 321 ; but frequently had its own rulers, of the house of the Ptolemies (see below), until it became a distinct kingdom under Ptolemaeus Physcon, whose illegitimate son Apion bequeathed

it to the Romans in 97. Cyrene carried on great trade, partly in its own products, of which the silphium (laser) is particularly famous, and it also stood in a close commercial intercourse both with Carthage and Ammonium, and by them with the interior of Africa. The former splendor and magnitude of the city, as of the country, are still announced by a multitude of the noblest ruins ; and that these may be more carefully observed, every friend to antiquity must earnestly desire.

Hardion Histoire de Cyrène, in Mem. de l'Academie des Inscript. T. III.

Historia Cyrenes, inde a tempore quo condita urbs est, usque ad aetatem qua in provinciae formam a Romanis reducta est ; particula prior, de initiis Coloniae Cyrenen deductae, et Cyrenes Battiadis regnantibus Historia ; auctore Joh. Petro Thrige ; Havniae, Typis Andreae Seidelin 1810. The leading work on Cyrene. It is to be hoped that the author will not suffer us to wait in vain for the second part, which is to embrace the history of the republican period.— On the great remains in Cyrenaica a somewhat clearer light is shed by :

Della Cella Viaggio di Tripoli.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the beginning of the Persian Wars, to the time of Alexander the Great, 500—336.

Sources. The chief writers of this period are : For the history of the Persian wars, to the battle of Plataeae 479, Herodotus. For the period from 479 to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war 431, in the want of contemporary writers, Diodorus of Sicily, from the opening of the 11th book, which begins with 480 (the 6, 7, 8, 9, 10th books are no longer extant) to the middle of the 12th

book would be the leading authority, if it were not often necessary to correct his chronology, from the short view given in the first book of Thucydides. For the period of the Peloponnesian war 431—410, Thucydides is the leading author, in connection with whom Diodorus, from the middle of the 12th, to the middle of the 13th book is to be consulted. From the year 410 to the battle at Mantinea 362, Xenophon is the leading writer in his *Historia Graeca*, and partly also in the *Anabasis*, and the *Agésilas*, and with him Diodorus, from the middle of the 13th to near the end of the 15th book. For the years 362 to 336, we are again without any contemporary writer, and therefore Diodorus in his 16th book becomes the chief source, beside whom, however, in the age of Philip, the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines must be consulted. Several of the biographies of Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos relate to these periods, but cannot be considered as leading authorities ; and still less the compendiary accounts of a Justin and some others.

Those, who in modern times have written of this blooming period of Greece, are of course the historians enumerated above, page 119. The following also belong here :

Potter, *Archaeologia Graeca* ; or the *Antiquities of Greece*. II vol. 8vo. London. 1722. [There is a recent American edition, published at New-York.]

Barthelemy *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*. (between 362 & 338 b. Ch.) Paris. 1788. 5 vols. with maps and plans for explaining the localities of Athens, &c. Taste and learning stand here in a rare union ; but criticism and a correct understanding of antiquity not in the same degree.

Geschichte des Ursprungs, Fortgangs, und Verfalls der Wissenschaften in Griechenland und Rom, von Chr. Meiners. Göttingen. 1781. This contains also a delineation of the political condition. But it is continued only to the age of Philip.

The chief works on the monuments of ancient Greece are :

Les Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce par M. Le Roy. Paris. 1758. ed. 2. 1770. fol. In respect of time, this is the first ; but is far surpassed in :

The Antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated by J. Stuart. III. voll. London. 1762. The 4th vol. was not published till 1816. In splendor and exactness this is the first.

Antiquities and Views of Greece and Egypt, by R. Dalton. 1791. fol. Of Egyptian monuments it contains only those of lower Egypt.

Ionian Antiquities, published by Rob. Chandler. London. 1796. 1797. II voll. fol. A work worthy of accompanying that of Stuart.

Choiseul Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque dans la Grèce*. Vol. I. 1779. Vol. II. 1809. This comprises particularly the islands and Asia Minor.

1. From a number of small states, such as the Grecian were at the commencement of this period, not even connected by alliances, but rather engaged in constant feuds, nothing great could be expected, unless some external cause, compelling them to common efforts, had prevented them from mutually destroying one another. By the attacks of the Persians the foundation was laid for the greatness of Greece ; and individual states soon became so powerful, that the general history of Greece turns on their particular destinies.

The causes of the Persian war were, the part which the Athenians took in the insurrection of the Ionians, and the burning of Sardes 500, (see above, page 97).—Hippias made his first effort with the Satraps, and afterwards excited the Persian court.—The first expedition of Mardonius, defeated by a storm, took place 493.

2. Even the demand made of the Greeks by the Persian king to submit, is not enough to
arouse their national spirit. All the islands, ^{491.}

and most of the continental states surrender ; Sparta and Athens alone venture to reject the demand. The Athenians alone, and their leader Miltiades, who, at an earlier period of his life, had become acquainted with the Persians and their manner of making war, and who also knew the superiority of the Grecian armor, were now the saviors of Greece.

Athens and Sparta contend in 491 with Aegina, which island favored the Persians, and this gave occasion to the expulsion of king Demaratus by his colleague Cleomenes in Sparta.

The expedition of the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, under the guidance of Hippias, was defeated by the battle of Marathon, Sept. 29, 490, and the unsuccessful attempt to surprise Athens.

3. The immediate consequence of these victories was a naval expedition against the islands, especially against Paros, to which Miltiades, from private hatred, persuaded the Athenians, in order to levy contributions ; and this seems first to have awakened in the Athenians the idea of their subsequent dominion of the sea. Although upon the unsuccessful event of this expedition they punished Miltiades for their own folly, this injustice was still an advantage for Athens ; for the fall of Miltiades made way for the advancement of the men, who in fact laid the foundation of the greatness of Athens.

4. As in every powerful democratic free state, the history of Athens is from this time the history of individual eminent men, who took the lead as generals and demagogues. Themistocles, who united in a wonderful manner the most splendid

talents of a statesman and a general with the spirit of intrigue and self-interest; and Aristides, whose disinterestedness was even at that time a rare thing in Athens, are the true founders of the greatness of this republic. Yet Athens owes more to the first than to the last.

The rivalry of these two men 490—486. Whilst Themistocles at the head of the Athenian fleet, executes the plan of Miltiades against the islands, the administration of the public affairs is in the hands of Aristides. But on the return of the victorious Themistocles, Aristides is banished from Athens by ostracism 486. Themistocles, alone at the head, executes his grand design of making Athens a naval power. By means of a war with the hated Aegina 484, he induces the Athenians to appropriate the revenue, arising from their mines, to naval purposes. Whilst Athens was thus rising to power, Sparta suffered by the insanity of one of its kings, Cleomenes, (he was succeeded in 482 by his half-brother Leonidas,) and the haughtiness of the other, Leotychides.

5. The glory of having defeated the second ^{480.} grand attack of the Persians, belongs peculiarly to Themistocles. Not the naval victory at Salamis only, but far more the manner in which he knew how to operate on his nation, makes him the first man of his time, and the preserver of the now allied Greece.—How weak is every league in itself, and yet how strong can even a weak league become, when it is led by a great man, able to breathe into it his own spirit!

Themistocles, in his plan for carrying on the war, designed, partly, and not with entire success, to form a general alliance of all the Hellenic states, leaving to the Spartans the honor of the highest command; and partly to make the war

chiefly a naval one.—The heroic death of Leonidas and his 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians, on the 6th of July 480. His example contributed as much to the greatness of Greece, as the victory at Salamis. At the very same time a naval battle is fought off Artemisium in Euboea with 271 ships. The leaders of the Greeks could be retained at their posts only by bribes; and of these Themistocles himself kept the most. The deserted Athens was taken by Xerxes and burnt on the 20th of July. The Grecian fleet retreats to the gulf of Salamis, and all the banished, even Aristides, are recalled.—Here observe the crafty conduct of Themistocles, to prevent the flight of the dispirited Greeks, and at the same time to secure for himself an interest in reserve with the Persian king.—The naval victory at Salamis was gained 23d Sept. 480, with 380 ships, (of which 180 belonged to the Athenians) against the Persian fleet, already much weakened. Xerxes retreats.—Poets and historians have disfigured these events by making of them a sort of *ideal*, thus giving a lesson, in what degree human greatness is wont to be allied with human weakness.

6. The victory at Salamis did not, indeed, finish the war; but the negotiations with Mardonius, the Persian general left behind in Thessaly, and with the Asiatic Greeks for their liberation, show how much the confidence of the nation in its strength had increased. The battle by land at Plataeae, under the command of Pausanias, (the guardian of Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas,) and of Aristides, and the naval battle at Mycale, and the burning of ^{25 Sep.} the Persian fleet on the same day, free ^{479.} Greece, and forever, from the invasion of the Persians, although the war continued.

7. The repulse of the Persians produced an entire change in the internal and external relations of Greece. Instead of being the party attacked, the

Greeks themselves now act on the offensive ; and the liberation of their Asiatic countrymen forms the great object or pretext for continuing so profitable a war, in which the chief command remains with Sparta till 470.

Athens is rebuilt, and in spite of the jealousy of the Spartans, fortified by Themistocles 478 ; and the still more important establishment of the Piræeus is made 477.—Naval expedition under Pausanias, together with Aristides and Cimon, against Cyprus and Byzantium, for the expulsion of the Persians 470. Treachery and fall of Pausanias 469. It is in consequence of his pride, that the chief command was then transferred to the Athenians.

8. This transfer of the chief command to Athens decided all the following relations of Greece, not only because it increased the jealousy between Sparta and Athens, but also because Athens knew how to profit by it far otherwise than Sparta had done.—A continuing league of most of the Grecian States without the Peloponnesus, especially of the islands, was formed, and the amount is fixed of a yearly tribute to be paid by all, for the continuance of the Persian war, and for the liberation of the Grecian states in Asia from the Persian rule. Although the treasury was originally established at Delphos, Athens had still the administration of it, and there was not always such an administrator as Aristides. The natural consequences of this new arrangement were : 1. What had hitherto been merely military precedence, now became in the hands of Athens political direction, which, as usual, soon degenerated into a supremacy. Hence arose the idea of the dominion over

Greece, as connected with the dominion of the sea. 2. The oppression, sometimes real, sometimes supposed of the Athenians, produced in a short time discontent and opposition among several of the allies; and therefore 3. There gradually sprung up an opposite alliance, at the head of which was Sparta, that already for the most part, maintained the dominion of the Peloponnesus.

9. The changes of the internal constitution are by no means to be measured by the changes, expressly made in any institution of Lycurgus or Solon. In Sparta all the forms of the constitution of Lycurgus were still standing, and yet the government was entirely in the hands of the Ephori, whose dictatorial power it was, that made Sparta formidable. At Athens, in proportion as the foreign relations became more important, during a continual contest between the leaders of the Democratic and Aristocratic party, the real authority, under the guise of a Democracy, falls more and more into the hands of the ten generals, annually chosen, who at the same time played more or less the part of demagogues.

The law, excluding poorer citizens from public stations, was abolished 478.

Themistocles, who becomes entangled in the fall of Pausanias, was banished, chiefly through the arts of the Spartans; at first by ostracism 469, after which, on further persecution, he flies to the Persians 466.

10. The next forty years, from 470 to 430, are the splendid period of Athens. A concurrence of fortunate circumstances, in a people of the noblest talents, improved by great men, produced results,

which, under the same forms, have never re-appeared. Political greatness formed the foundation; the state, that had vindicated Grecian liberty and was now at the head of Greece, desired to make an appearance worthy of itself. Hence there was in Athens public splendor only, in buildings, theatres, and festivals; and it was possible to have this public magnificence, because moderation was the character of private life. This public consciousness of elevated worth unfolded all the blossoms of the mind; no dividing line was anxiously drawn between private and public life; every thing, which Athens produced of splendor and greatness, sprung in freshness and life from this harmony, from this full life of the state. How entirely different was it in Sparta, where severe manners and laws forbad every developement. In Sparta men learnt only how to die for their country; in Athens they lived for it.

11. Agriculture remained, therefore, in Attica, the chief employment of the citizens; if other kinds of business were carried on, it was done by slaves. Commerce and navigation extended above all towards the Thracian coast, and the Black Sea; but the spirit of commerce never became the ruling one. After the participation in politics gained greater attractions, the necessity of mental education was felt; and the instruction of sophists and rhetoricians began. But this instruction had for its object not so much knowledge as the ready use of mental powers; it was desired to learn how to think and speak. At the time when this was desired, poetic culture had already for a long time

been known; it lost none of its value; and Homer still remained the foundation of intellectual culture. How could such blossoms have produced other fruits than those, which ripened in the school of a Socrates, in the master works of the tragedians and the orators, and in the ever living productions of a Plato?

12. These blossoms of the national spirit were unfolded in spite of many evils, which were inseparable from such a constitution, among such a people. Great men were thrust aside, but others appeared in their stead. The loss of Themistocles is replaced by Cimon, the son of Miltiades; who to similar talents unites a purer system of policy. He prolonged the war with the Persians, to preserve union among the Greeks; and favored the aristocratic party, whilst he seemed to be a man of the people. Even his enemies learnt from experience, that it was not possible to do without the general, who seemed for his whole life to have made a league with victory.

In 469 a new expedition is made under Cimon, and a victory gained by sea and land on the Eurymedon. He gains possession of the Chersonesus on the Hellespont in 468. Even at this time some of the allies of the Athenians endeavor to break free. Hence in 467, the conquest of Carystus in Euboea; the subjection of Naxos 466, and from 465 to 463, the siege and taking of Thasos, under Cimon. The Athenians continue to endeavor to establish themselves more securely on the coasts of Macedonia, by sending a colony to Amphipolis in 465.

The great earthquake in Sparta was followed by a war of ten years' duration, the third Messenian war, or insurrection of the Helots, who fortify themselves in Ithome 465—455.

In this war the Athenians, at the instigation of Cimon, send help to the Spartans 461, which the Spartans, however, refuse. Hence the democratic party take occasion to make Cimon suspected of being in the interests of Sparta; in 461 he is banished by ostracism.

13. The death of Aristides, and the banishment of Cimon, bring Pericles to the head of the state, who since 469 had been possessed of influence. Less a general than a demagogue, he maintained his importance for forty years till his death, and governed Athens without having ever been an archon, or a member of the Areopagus. That the constitution under him became more and more democratic, was the result of the manner of his elevation, as the head of the democratic party. Yet even till 444 the aristocratic party were able to oppose to him rivals in the generals Myronides, Tolmides, and especially the elder Thucydides.

The spirit of the administration of the state is changed under Pericles, as well with reference to the internal, as external relations. A splendid administration takes the place of the economical financial system of Aristides, and yet, after 30 years, the public treasury was well filled.—The power of the Areopagus was diminished by Ephialtes 461. Many causes, which before belonged to its jurisdiction and were now withdrawn, could not but limit its inspection of morals.—The custom was now introduced of paying those who had seats in the courts of justice.

In regard to external relations, the precedency of the Athenians degenerated more and more into a supremacy of command; though the relations with all the allies were not precisely the same. Some were merely allies; others were subjects.—The amount of the contributions of the allies is

increased, and the treasury transferred from Delos to Athens 461. The envy of the Spartans, and the discontent of the allies, increase in the same proportion with the greatness of Athens.

Support, though in vain, was given by an Athenian fleet and troops 462—458, to the insurrection of Inarus in Egypt against the Persians.

Wars in Greece: The Spartans excite Corinth and Epidaurus against Athens. The Athenians, at first defeated at Haliae, in their turn defeat their enemies 458, and upon this make war on Aegina, which surrenders 457. In the new controversy between Corinth and Megara on the subject of boundaries, the Athenians take the side of Megara; and Myronides gains a victory at Cimolia 457. The expedition of the Spartans to assist the Dorians against Phocis, occasions the breaking out of the first war between Athens, Sparta and Boeotia. The first battle was fought near Tanagra and the Spartans were victorious, in the same year 457. The Boeotians, whom they had urged forward, are beaten in the second battle near Tanagra by Myronides 456. A consequence of the first defeat was the recall of Cimon, effected by Pericles himself.

14. Cimon, now recalled from exile, seeks to restore internal tranquillity in Greece, and, on the other hand, to renew the war against the Persians. His efforts are followed by success, though not till
 450. after five years; and the consequence is a victorious expedition against the Persians, whose fleet he defeats at Cyprus, and whose army he overthrows on the Asiatic coast. The fruit of this victory is, finally, the glorious peace with Artaxerxes, (mentioned above, page 104).
 449. Before it was closed, Cimon dies, too early for his country, at the siege of Citium.

The third Messenian war is terminated victoriously for Sparta, by the surrender of Ithome 455.—But the war of Athens against the Peloponnesians is continued, Tolmides and Pericles attacking their territory by sea 455—454. At the same time Pericles endeavors to confirm the power of Athens on the shores of the Hellespont by establishing colonies there; a colony is also sent to Naxos 453. Cimon negotiates a treaty for a truce, which was in 451 silently, and afterwards 450 formally, concluded for five years. The consequence of it was his victorious expedition against the Persians, and the peace concluded with them. If its conditions were sometimes violated, they may nevertheless have been approved.

15. The peace with Persia, though it was a glorious one, and the death of the man, who had made union among the Greeks the chief object of his policy, renewed domestic dissensions, and although a period of almost twenty years passed away before the breaking out of the great storm, the period was still so unquiet, that Greece sel-^{431.} dom enjoyed in it a general peace. Whilst Athens was maintaining its supremacy over the allies, especially by means of its naval power, and several of these revolted and attached themselves to Sparta, the general tendency was more and more to a league on the opposite side, and this could not but finally lead to a war like the Peloponnesian. Till then Athens stood at the height of its power, and under Pericles, who was during this period sole ruler in all but the name, it for that very reason felt none of the evils, incident to its democratic constitution. Who could supplant the demagogue, who even in the highest success was never deficient in collectedness; and who was al-

ways able to preserve in the nation the feeling, that it was through him the nation was elevated?

During the five years' truce the sacred war took place respecting the possession of the Delphic oracle, which the Spartans give into the hands of the city Delphi, but which, after they had withdrawn, the Athenians restore to the Phocians 448. The Athenians under Tolmides lose a battle, fought with the Boeotians 447. As the undertaking was made contrary to the advice of Pericles, his influence was increased by the issue of it; especially as he in 446 reduced the whole of Euboea and Megara. The truce of five years with Sparta comes to an end, and hostilities are renewed 445, which, however, are checked by a new peace concluded for thirty years, though it in fact lasted but fourteen.—The aristocratic party is entirely crippled by the banishment of their leader, the elder Thucydides 444, by means of which the administration of the state comes entirely into the hands of Pericles.—Democracy is now favored in the allied states, and by force of arms introduced into Samos, which, after a nine months' siege, had been compelled to surrender to Pericles 440.—In 436 the war begins between Corinth and Corcyra respecting Epidaurus, of which the Corcyraeans gain possession 435 after a naval victory. The Athenians take part in these quarrels in favor of the Corcyraeans 432. The breach with Corinth, and the policy of king Perdiccas II. of Macedonia, occasion the falling off of the Corinthian colony Potidaea, which was in the Athenian league; and thus the war was transferred to the Macedonian coasts. Battle near Potidaea and siege of the city 432. The Corinthians turn to Sparta, and excite the Spartans to war, which was accelerated by the attack of the Thebans on Plataeae, a city allied with Athens, 431.

^{431 to} 16. The history of the twenty-seven years' ^{404.} war, called the Peloponnesian, or great Grecian war, which stripped Greece of its fairest blos-

soms, is the more remarkable, as it was not merely a war against nations, but also against constitutions. The policy of Athens, in order to establish or to increase its influence in foreign states, of exciting the great mass against the Optimates, had every where produced a democratic, or Athenian, and an aristocratic, or Spartan party ; and of these the mutual bitterness occasioned the most violent explosions.

17. We have to explain the very different relations, in which the two leading states of Greece at that time stood towards their allies. Athens, as a naval power, was mistress of most of the islands and cities on the coasts, as tributary allies, which for the most part obeyed with reluctance. Sparta, as a power strong on land, was in connection with most of the states of the continent, which had, voluntarily and free from tribute, attached themselves to it. Sparta, therefore, could enter on the theatre of action as the liberator of Greece from the yoke of Athens.

Allies of the Athenians : The islands Chios, Samos, Lesbos, all the islands of the Archipelago, (except Thera and Melos, which were neutral ;) Corcyra, Zacynthus ; the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor and on the coasts of Thrace and Macedonia ; and in Greece itself the cities Naupactus, Plataeae, and those in Acarnania.—The allies of the Spartans : All the Peloponnesians, (except Argos and Achaia, which remained neutral ;) Megara, Locris, Phocis, Boeotia, the cities Ambracia and Anactorium, the island Leucas. The difference of descent had obviously an influence on the connections that were formed ; as Athens appears to take the lead among the Ionian, Sparta among the Dorian states.

18. Some account must be given of the internal condition of Athens and Sparta at that period. The power of Athens depended chiefly on the condition of its finances; without which the fleet, and without the fleet, the dominion over the allies could not be maintained; and although Pericles, notwithstanding his great public expense, was yet able to begin the war with a full treasury of 6000 talents, experience soon taught, that in a free state, so democratic as Athens was under Pericles, the lavish expenditure of the public money could not be prevented. This was, however, far less the effect of the faithlessness of individual officers in the employment of the state, than of the demands of the multitude, which for the most part lived at the expense of the public treasury. Sparta, on the contrary, was at that time a state without finances; of which it began to feel the want, in the same degree, as it became a naval power; and adventured greater undertakings than mere campaigns.

The Athenian system of finances. Sources of income :
1. The tribute of the allies raised by Pericles from 460 to 600 talents. 2. The revenue derived from duties, (which were farmed out), and from the mines of Laurium. 3. The money paid for protection by the *inquilini*. 4. The contributions of the citizens, which fell almost exclusively on the rich, especially on the first class, the members of which were compelled to defray the whole expense of fitting out the fleet, as well as the expense of the public festivals and shows. The whole income of the republic at this period has been estimated at 2000 talents. But the paying of the numerous persons who had a seat in the courts of justice, (this was the chief means of support for the poorer citizens, and

more than any thing else, promoted the unrestrained licentiousness of the democracy and the oppression of the allies, whose causes were brought to Athens for trial,) and the expense, incurred for festivals and shows, even then consumed by far the largest part.

Staatshaushalt der Athenienser von Fr. Boekh, 2 Theile. Berlin. 1816. The chief work on the Finances of Athens.

Athenian letters, or the Epistolary correspondence of an agent of the king of Persia residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian war. London. 1798. II voll. 4to. The Germans have a translation of this by Fr. Jacobs, 1799. Youthful essays of several authors; printed, but not published, as early as 1741. The description embraces not Greece only, but also Persia and Egypt.

19. The first period of the war extends to ⁴³¹ to the fifty years' peace. The beginning of the ⁴²² war was for Athens unsuccessful in the three first years under the direction of Pericles, in whose plan of acting on the defensive the weakness of age is hardly to be mistaken. Yet the annual marauding campaigns of the Spartans did not do so much injury as the plague, of which Pericles himself finally became the victim. The league ⁴²⁹ of the Athenians with the kings of Thrace and Macedonia enlarges the theatre of the war; on the other hand Sparta had even at that ⁴³⁰ time the idea of forming a union with Persia.

20. The death of Pericles developes in Athens in the next seven years all the consequences of an unrestrained democracy, the tanner Cleon having pushed forward to occupy his place. The ⁴²⁷ wild decrees respecting Mitylene, which had revolted and been again taken, and the rising of the populace against the wealthy in Corcyra, cha-

racterize the spirit of faction in Greece, better than single events in the war, which were not very important nor the result of any plan. Yet
 424. Sparta gained in the young Brasidas a general, suited to a revolutionary period. His transferring the war to the coasts of Macedonia might have proved very dangerous for Athens, if he had
 422. not himself too early become the victim of his valor.

The taking of Amphipolis by Brasidas, and the exile of Thucydides 424. Battle near this city between Brasidas and Cleon, and death of both generals 422.

21. The peace, now concluded for fifty
 422. years, could have no continuance, for several of the allies on both sides were not satisfied with it. And all hope of tranquillity could not but vanish, as the helm of state in Athens came into the hands of a youth like Alcibiades, in whom
 420. vanity and cunning took the place of patriotism and true talents, and who thought he could establish his consequence only in war.—In opposition to him, what could the considerate Nicias effect? —It was fortunate for Athens, that in this whole period, Sparta had not a man, who could outweigh even Alcibiades.

Several states, especially Corinth, make the attempt to place Argos at the head of a new alliance, which Athens joins 421.—Breach of the peace 419, yet till 415 only indirectly by assisting their respective allies.—The plan of Alcibiades to secure to Athens, by means of the alliance with Argos, the preponderance in the Peloponnesus is defeated by the battle near Mantinea 417.—The Athenians wage a war of extirpation against the Melians, who desired

to maintain their neutrality, because for the weakest neutrality was now a crime 416.

22. The party of Alcibiades in Athens carries through the project of the conquest of Sicily, under the pretext of assisting the Segestani against Syracuse. This mad expedition, fatal to the ⁴¹⁵ hopes of the Athenians not less than those of ⁴¹³ its author Alcibiades, gave Athens the first blow, from which it never afterwards, even with the greatest exertion of its powers, wholly recovered; especially as Sparta now became a naval power.

The Athenians had at earlier times taken a part in the affairs of the Sicilian Greeks.—A fleet and an army, under the command of Nicias, Lamachus, and Alcibiades, were sent against Sicily 415.—Alcibiades is accused, recalled, and flies to Sparta, and the peace is formally broken by an incursion of the Spartans into Attica, and the fortifying of Decelea 414. The unsuccessful siege of Syracuse was as late as in 414; and the fleet and army of the Athenians were entirely destroyed by help of the Spartans under Gylippus 413.

23. Fatal as this blow in Sicily seemed under the circumstances of the time to be for Athens, the enthusiasm of the Athenians, who never appear greater than in misfortunes, rose superior to their calamities. They maintained their power over their allies; but the part, which Alcibiades, on account of the change in his personal relations in Sparta, took in its affairs, was followed by a double internal revolution, by which limits were set to the unrestrained democracy.

The Spartans form an alliance with the Persians; indecisive battle near Miletus.—Alcibiades flies from Sparta to Tissaphernes, and treats with him, in order to win him for

Athens 411.—Doubtful policy of Tissaphernes.—Alcibiades negotiates with the leaders of the Athenian army in Samos, by means of which a revolution is effected in Athens itself, and the democracy overthrown by the naming of the highest council of 400, instead of the senate, and the committee of 5000 from the body of citizens in the place of the popular assembly 411.—The army resolves itself into a deliberative body ; names Alcibiades general, but declares again for the democracy.—In Athens itself great commotions arise, occasioned by the overthrow of the fleet near Eretria, the consequence of which was the falling off of Euboea. The college of 400 was abolished ; after a despotic government of four months ;—the constitution is reformed ; the highest authority transferred to the hands of the 5000, and Alcibiades is recalled and makes his peace with the army.

411 to 24. The splendid period of the command of
407. Alcibiades follows. The repeated naval victories of the Athenians over the Spartans commanded by Mindarus, who had now from distrust of Tissaphernes united themselves with Pharnabazus, the satrap of the Northern part of Asia Minor, compel the Spartans themselves to ask for peace, which the haughty Athens to its own
410. misfortune refused.

Two naval battles on the Hellespont 411.—A great victory by sea and land is gained near Cycicus 410.—The Athenian rule in Ionia and Thrace is confirmed by the taking of Byzantium 408. The splendid return of Alcibiades took place in 407, but his deposition from power and voluntary exile belong to the same year.

25. The younger Cyrus arrives in Asia Minor,
407. and the crafty Lysander succeeds in winning him for Sparta. The republican braving of Cyrus by Callicratidas, the successor of Lysander,

was a great political mistake, for Sparta without the subsidies of the Persians was not able to pay its sailors, and support its marine. After the overthrow and death of Callicratidas, Lysander again obtains the command; and finally terminates the war of twenty seven years victoriously for Sparta.

Naval victory of Lysander over the Athenians near Notium 407, by which Alcibiades loses the command.—Ten new generals are named at Athens, among them Conon.—Callicratidas gains a naval victory near Mitylene and blockades Conon in the harbor of that place 406.—A great naval victory is gained by the Athenians: Callicratidas is overthrown and killed near the islands Aeginussae by the side of Lesbos 406.—The unjust condemnation of the Athenian commanders.—Lysander again assumes the command, and the last decisive naval victory is gained over the Athenians near Aegospotamos on the Hellespont in Dec. 406.—The loss of the dominion of the sea was also that of their allies; whom Lysander successively reduces 405.—Athens is besieged by Lysander in the same year 405, and finally surrenders in May 404. Athens loses its walls and its ships of war excepting twelve; and the constitution, according to the prescriptions of Lysander, is changed into an oligarchy under thirty rulers (tyrants).

26. So ended a war, which by its moral consequences was far more destructive than by its political. The spirit of faction took the place of the spirit of patriotism; and national hatred of national pride. By the subjection of Athens Sparta now came to be the head of allied Greece, which, however, soon found the new dominion of its liberators much more severe than that of its former oppressors. How much did not the revolutions

cost, which Lysander found necessary in most of the Grecian cities, in order to bring into power people of his party, under the guardianship of a Spartan prefect?—How much the Spartan garrisons?—No relief from the burden of tribute even was to be hoped, as it was now decreed in Sparta, “that the State might possess a treasure.”—The haughtiness and greediness of the new rulers were, therefore, but so much the greater, the less polished and the poorer they were.

History of the reign of terror of the thirty tyrants in Athens 403.—What took place here, must more or less have taken place in the other Grecian cities, which were revolutionized by Lysander; for his party every where consisted of such men as Critias and his associates. It would seem, that they, even at an earlier period, had attached themselves to one another in narrower circles, from which the boldest revolutionary characters were now selected, to be placed every where at the head.

27. Successful revolution in Athens and banishment of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, favored even by the party, opposed to Lysander in Sparta, under the king Pausanias. Introduction and reform of Solon’s constitution and general amnesty.

403. The forms could be restored; the spirit that had departed, could not be recalled.

De Theramenis, Critiae, et Thrasybuli, vivorum tempore belli Peloponnesiaci inter Graecos illustrium, rebus et ingenio commentatio, auctore Ed. Ph. Hinrichs. Hamburgi. 1820. An investigation, conducted with care and impartiality.

28. The defeat of the younger Cyrus involves the Spartans in a new war with the Persians, in the very same year, in which after the death
400. of king Agis, Agesilaus gains possession of

the royal dignity. His usurpation is cheerfully forgotten by those, who follow him in his heroic career. A man of his genius was alone able to make Sparta capable of playing for so long a time the overstrained part, which it had now arrogated.

The war with the Persians is begun by the attack of Tissaphernes on the Aeolian cities in Asia Minor 400. Thimbron is in 398 succeeded in the command by the more successful and more able Dercyllidas.—He takes advantage of the jealousy existing between Tissaphernes and Artabazus, and compels the first to a separate truce in 397.—Command and campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia, from the spring of 396 to the spring of 394. It is here, that, after a more intimate acquaintance with the internal weakness of the Persian empire by the successful invasion of Phrygia 395, the idea seems first to have been ripened by him of overturning the Persian throne; and this idea was on the point of being executed, had not the Persians understood the art of raising up a war against Sparta in Greece itself.

29. The Corinthian war was begun against Sparta by Corinth, Thebes and Argos, which
 Athens and the Thessalians joined, and was 394.
 terminated by the peace of Antalcidas. 387.
 The tyranny of Sparta, and especially the recent plundering of the holy land of Elis were the
 pretexts, the bribes of the Persian ambassador
 Timocrates, the true cause. 401.

The Spartans invade Boeotia, and lose a battle near Haliartus 394. Lysander falls, and Agesilaus is recalled from Asia.—His victory at Coronea secured, it is true, to the Spartans the preponderance by land; but the defeat of their fleet at the same time near Cnidus by Conon, who had received the command of the Persico-Athenian fleet, gave to

the latter the dominion of the sea, which Conon used with great skill to awaken again at Athens a feeling of independence 393.—Sparta endeavors by great apparent sacrifices to gain the Persians, and the peace, which the crafty Antalcidas (see above page 108) finally concluded 387, was easily closed on the Spartan side, for Sparta resigned by it only that, which it could not at any rate have maintained. Its supremacy in Greece was secured by its having the execution of the treaty; the freedom stipulated for all the Grecian cities was for them not a real, but only an apparent loss; and ever since the cession of the Asiatic colonies, the preponderance in Greece itself was no longer decided by the naval power, but by the land force.

30. The disputes, which after the peace of
 386. Antalcidas Sparta began with Mantinea and
 384. with Phlius, but still more its participation in
 the disputes of the Grecian-Macedonian cities
 383to with the too powerful Olynthus, satisfactorily
 380. prove, with what haughtiness Sparta behaved
 382. towards the weaker. But the wilful garri-
 soning of the citadel of Thebes by Phoebeidas,
 although not enjoined, yet commended by Sparta,
 was followed by more important consequences,
 than had been expected. Would that every faith-
 less violation of the rights of nations might in like
 manner be avenged on its authors.

31. Period of the rivalry of Thebes with Sparta from 378. The greatness of Thebes was the work of two men, who knew how to breathe their own heroic spirit into their fellow citizens and allies; it rose therefore and sank with them. History seldom exhibits a duumvirate like that of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. How highly must we think of Pythagoras, even if Epaminondas

were the only man whom his philosophy had formed.

Thebes was liberated from the Spartan dominion by the successful attack of Pelopidas and his associate conspirators 378. Fruitless attempts of the Spartans under Cleombrotus 378 and Agesilaus 377 and 376 against Thebes. The defensive war, which Pelopidas at that time carried on, whilst he confirmed the dominion of Thebes over Boeotia, and also knew how to win the Athenians, (whose fleet 376 beat the Spartan,) deserves more admiration than a victory.— Yet the great designs of Thebes were not developed, till Epaminondas came to the head.

Histoire d'Epaminonde par Seran de la Tour. Paris. 1752.

Epaminondas, Biographie von Meissner. Prag. 1801. 2 Th. This work is not without proofs of the study of the sources.

J. G. Scheibel Beiträge zur genauern Kenntniss der alten Welt. 1809. The second part contains the attempt at a history of Thebes ; as the first does of Corinth.

32. A general peace is mediated in Greece by the Persians, (in order to obtain auxiliary troops against the Egyptians,) on the condition of the freedom of all the Grecian cities ; accepted by Sparta and Athens, but rejected by Thebes, 374. because it could not accept the condition, without soon falling again under the yoke of the Spartans. After the lofty language, which Epaminondas used as ambassador in Sparta, 372. the only question could now be, whether Sparta or Thebes should stand at the head of Greece ? But would the idea of the preservation of a strict equality between the Grecian states have at that time been any thing more than a mere chimera ?

371 to 33. The continuing contest with Sparta,
 362. which Epaminondas so gloriously maintained, is equally remarkable in a political and military point of view. The power was broken, whilst Epaminondas invented a new system of tactics, (from which the Macedonian art of war soon proceeded,) and made for himself a way to the very gates of Sparta, as soon as he found allies in the Peloponnesus.

The Thebans gain a victory near Leuctra, July 8th, 371, and annihilate the former supremacy of Sparta.—First invasion of the Peloponnesus, prepared by alliances with Arcadia, Argos, and Elis.—The attack upon Sparta itself was fruitless; yet the independence of Messene was restored 369.

34. Sparta in its distress forms a union with
 369. Athens under the agreement of an alternate command, which may have cost the pride of the Spartans dear; yet by that means the new attack of Epaminondas upon Corinth and the
 368. Peloponnesus was guarded against.—Even Dionysius I. of Syracuse believed himself bound to send help to the Spartans as Dorians.

35. In the North also Thebes played a part, not less splendid than in the South; if the attempts at liberating Thessaly from the dominion of the tyrant Alexander at Pherae had fully succeeded, Thebes would have thus received a great increase of its power. Even in Macedonia, Thebes was the umpire.

The first successful expedition of Pelopidas to Thessaly was in 368.—After the establishment of the contested succession to the Macedonian throne, the young Philip is brought as a hostage to Thebes and educated in the house

of Epaminondas.—Pelopidas went as ambassador to Alexander, and was held as a captive by him, and this occasions the second expedition of the Thebans, in which Epaminondas saves the army, and liberates his friend 367.

36. A union between Thebes and Persia was successfully negotiated by Pelopidas. At the negotiations of the opponents at the Persian court, the only question was, who should gain it for himself. Yet the dictatorial decision with which the Persians wished to command peace, had not the consequences, which could have been expected; and although Sparta conceded neutrality to its allies, it still refused to resign its claims to Messene. It would have been for Thebes of more importance than this union to have laid the foundation of a naval power, to which a happy beginning had already been made, if all these plans, ^{365.} together with all the greatness of Thebes, had not been annihilated by the too early death of both its leaders.

The last expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander of Pherae, in which he himself fell, was in 364.—A new invasion of the Peloponnesus was occasioned by the disturbances in Arcadia.—Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas June 27th, 362.—A general peace is mediated by the Persians, which however the Spartans will not conclude on account of Messene, but send Agesilaus to Egypt to support the rebellion of Tachos.

37. The consequence of these bloody wars for the supremacy in Greece was, that neither Sparta nor Thebes retained it, for the former was too much enfeebled by the loss of Messene, the latter by the loss of its leaders, and both by their violent exertions. The condition of Greece appears,

therefore, after this war in so far essentially changed, that no state stands at the head ; a freedom, the result of debility. Even Athens, which by means of its naval power had still been able to maintain its importance in the cities on the coast and on the islands, now lost it and three of its most celebrated generals, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates, (whom Chares could not make good,) by the war with the allies.

The islands Cos, Rhodes, and Chios, and the city Byzantium, form an alliance and revolt from Athens 358. The attempt to besiege Chios in 358, in which Chabrias falls, proves unsuccessful, as also Byzantium 357. But Athens was still more injured by the cabals of Chares against his colleagues in command Timotheus and Iphicrates, and his imprudent participation in the insurrection of Artabazus 356. The menaces of Artaxerxes III. compelled Athens to make peace, in which it was forced to concede liberty to its allies.

38. At the very time, when the increasing power of Macedonia under Philip should have united all the Grecian states, if such a union had still been possible, Greece plunges into a new civil war of ten years, known by the name of the ^{256 to} sacred or the Phocian war. The assembly of ^{346.} the Amphictyons, whose business it was to preserve peace, and whose importance had of itself risen again, was so perverted from its purpose, as to become the occasion of war. The hatred of the Thebans, who sought for new occasions of dissensions with Sparta, and the ambition of the Phocian Philomenes, are the causes of this war, which the policy of Philip continued to prolong, till his own time was come. The treasures of Delphi, now circulated through Greece, were almost as destructive to it, as the devastations which it suffered. A

war, instigated by personal passions, conducted by bribery and mercenary troops, and terminated by the introduction of foreign power, seemed well suited to destroy the remains of morality and patriotism, which still existed in Greece.

Decision of the Amphictyons against Sparta respecting the former surprise of Thebes by Phoebidas; and against Phocis respecting the culture of the sacred fields of Delphi 357.—Philomelus is made the general of the Phocians; the seizure of the treasure of Delphi enables him, by the help of Athenian and other mercenary troops, to conduct the war against the Thebans and their allies, the Locrians, &c., as charged with the execution of the decision of the Amphictyons. As Philomelus fell in 353, he was followed by his brother Onomarchus, still more accomplished in the arts of bribery and war; who also falls as early as 352 in a battle with Philip in Thessaly, and has Phayllus for his successor. Even at this time Philip endeavors to penetrate by Thermopylae into Greece, but is prevented by the Athenians. After his peace with Athens 347, he executes this purpose, and after reducing the Phocians and thrusting them out of the council of the Amphictyons, obtains in their stead a seat and voice in that assembly.

39. Immediately on this first advance of Philip, the fate of Greece could hardly remain doubtful, although it was deferred by the eloquence of Demosthenes till his second invasion, occasioned by the condemnation of the Locrians by the Amphictyons. (See below, in the following chapter). The battle of Chaeronea fully established the guardianship of Macedonia over the Grecian republics; which was, as it were, formally acknowledged by the nomination of Philip to be the General of Greece in the Persian war, and did not terminate when he was murdered.

338.

336.

FOURTH DIVISION.

HISTORY OF THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY.

FIRST PERIOD.

From its origin to the death of Alexander the Great, from 800—323.

Sources. We have no particular writer on the history of Macedonia before Alexander. Accounts respecting the earlier history before Philip must be collected from Diodorus, Justin, Thucydides, Arrian, especially from Diodorus. For the history of Philip, the loss of the other historians leaves Diodorus now the first; but in connection with him, use must be made of the orations of Demosthenes and Æschines, yet with historical criticism. On Alexander the Great, as so many writings respecting him have perished, Arrian is now the leading writer, on account of his careful selection of his authorities. Along with him we have Diodorus in his 17th book. The biography of Plutarch contains many valuable single contributions, and Curtius, so deficient in criticism, is not without several statements, contained in no other historian, if they were but more worthy of being relied upon.

Of moderns, (beside the general works of Guthrie and Gray, vol. 3., Hübler voll. 2, 3, &c. (page 2);) the writings on Philip and Alexander; see below.

1. A Grecian colony from Argos, which under the Temenidae, of the race of Hercules, established itself in Emathia, laid the weak

foundation to the subsequently so powerful Macedonian monarchy. The colony was able not only to sustain itself against the natives ; but their kings gradually enlarged their territory by reducing and expelling several neighboring tribes. But their early history till the irruptions of the Persians, excepting the names of their kings, is for the most part obscure.

Of the three first Macedonian kings, Caranus, said to have reigned twenty-eight-years, Coenus, twenty-three years, and Tyrmas, forty-five years, Herodotus knows nothing ; but names as the founder of the Macedonian rule, Perdiccas, 729—678. Of him as of his successors, Argæus †640, Philip I. †602, Aeropus †576, and Alcetas †547, it is only known, that they carried on wars with their neighbors, especially the Pierians and Illyrians, who had their own kings, with various success.

2. When the invasions of Europe by the Persians began, Macedonia was from its situation one of the first countries, which they entered. Under Darius Hystaspis the Macedonian kings became tributary to the Persians, and they owed their liberation not to their own courage, but to the victories of the Greeks. The battle at Plataeae 479 restored to the kingdom of the Macedonians its independence, although this was not formally recognized by the Persians.

Immediately after the Scythian expedition 513, Amyntas (†498,) became tributary to the Persians ; and his son and successor Alexander (†454,) who was also compelled to accompany Xerxes in his expedition.

3. But the banishment of the Persians soon gave the Macedonian kings other dangerous neigh-

bors, partly in the Thracians, among whom the great empire of the Odrysae was formed under
 424. Sitalces and his successor Seuthes ; partly in the Athenians, when they by means of their naval superiority had reduced to dependence the Grecian colonial cities on the coasts of Macedonia. Yet the more oppressive this neighborhood became to the Macedonian kings, the sooner and the more deeply did it involve them in the affairs of Greece.

The contests with Athens began under the government of Perdiccas II. 454—413, because Athens had supported his brother Philip against him.—Potidaea revolts and Olynthus is fortified, to which place the Greeks are transferred from Chalcis and other cities, 432. And when Potidaea in 431 was obliged to surrender to the Athenians, Perdiccas continued to play so cunning a part in the Peloponnesian war, which had now broken out, that he outwitted the Athenians, by preventing the attack of Sitalces by a marriage of his own sister to Seuthes, the heir of Sitalces 429. His connection with Sparta 424, was very injurious to the Athenians, as Brasidas took Amphipolis from them ; yet even now Perdiccas prefers to make peace with Athens 423, rather than throw himself entirely into the arms of his new allies.

4. The successor of Perdiccas, Archelaus, lays
 413 to the foundation for the culture of the country
 400. and the nation, (though the Greeks would never quite acknowledge the Macedonians as brethren,) by making walls and fortresses ; and he ever made his court the seat of literature. The Macedonian kingdom of that day appears to have embraced about the districts Emathia, Mydonia, and Pelagonia ; although some neighboring nations under their own kings were tributary. The kings had

little power without their nobles, among whom, like all the ancient chiefs of Grecian tribes, they were only the first. How difficult was it for the Macedonian nobility to forget this relation even in the times of Alexander.

5. After the murder of Archelaus follows an unquiet period, full of obscurities, for, as the rules of succession were not definitely fixed, several pretenders to the crown appeared, of whom each was able without difficulty to find support in one of the neighboring nations, or in one of the Grecian republics.

Aeropus, as guardian of the young king Orestes, usurps the supreme power 400—394. After his death and the murder of his son Pausanias 393, Amyntas II., (son of Philip, the brother of Perdiccas II.), gains possession of the throne, which he is not able to maintain till after a contest with Argæus, brother of Pausanias, whom the Illyrians assist 390—369. The war with Olynthus 383—380 could be successfully terminated only by his union with Sparta.

6. The three sons of Amyntas II., Alexander, Perdiccas and Philip, successively occupy the throne after the death of their father, but the two first in the midst of such disturbances, that it could seem even doubtful, whether a Macedonian kingdom were yet to exist. They were at least compelled to the resolution of paying tribute to the Illyrians.

Alexander, in contest with his rival Ptolemaeus of Alorus is confirmed on the throne by Pelopidas, and at the same time gives his brother Philip as a hostage to be carried to Thebes; but in the very same year he is again deposed by Ptolemaeus 368. The regency of Ptolemaeus, under the promise of preserving the empire for the two younger bro-

thers, 368—365, is set in order by Pelopidas 367. Ptolemaeus is murdered by Perdiccas III. 365 ; who is, however, almost entirely driven out by Pausanias, an earlier pretendant to the crown, till the Athenians under Iphicrates confirm him on the throne 364. But in 360 Perdiccas III. falls in a war against the Illyrians, leaving behind him Amyntas, a son not yet of age, and his younger brother Philip, who, in order to gain possession of the throne, escapes from Thebes.

^{360 to 336.} 7. The twenty-four years' reign of Philip is one of the most instructive and interesting in the whole history of the world, by the method of his policy. Little as his morality exhibits the pupil of Epaminondas, it is yet impossible to view without admiration the splendid career of the man, who did not lose his courage at an almost desperate beginning, and in his highest prosperity was not deserted by prudence.

Philip's history was in his own age distorted to his disadvantage by orators and historians. Demosthenes could not, Theopompus would not be impartial ; and our accounts in Justin and Diodorus proceed for the most part from the work of the latter.

Olivier *Histoire de Philippe, roi de Macédonie*. Paris. 1740. 2 voll. 8vo. *Defence of Philip*.

De Bury *Histoire de Philippe, et Alexandre le grand*. Paris. 1760. 4to. Of a very moderate value.

The history of the life and reign of Philip, king of Macedonia, by Th. Leland. London. 1761. 4to. Dry ; but written after extensive reading and with impartiality.

In Mitford's *History of Greece*, Philip has found his most zealous defender and eulogist. Even now it seems difficult to write Philip's history impartially.

8. The state of Macedonia, when Philip entered on the government, was wretched. Beside

the victorious foreign enemies, two pretenders to the crown were supported; Argæus, by Athens, Pausanias, by the Thracians; and Philip himself was originally not king, but only regent. Yet within two years every thing was changed, and Macedonia was again in possession of its independence. The newly formed phalanx made victory over the barbarians sure; but against the suspicious Athens and the neighboring Grecian colonial cities, especially the powerful Olynthus, force alone was not able to prevail. In the nice management of these relations the character of Philip's mind is particularly to be discerned.

Peace is purchased of Athens after conquering Argæus by the temporary declaration of the freedom of Amphipolis 360.—Pausanias is removed, by a compromise with the Thracians.—By conquering the Paeonians and Illyrians 359, the bounds of Macedonia are forthwith extended to Thrace, and on the west to the lake Lychnitis.—In the year 360 Philip was proclaimed king.

9. Philip's further plans for aggrandizement are now developed. It was his policy, by the gradual reduction of the Grecian-Macedonian cities not only to make himself master of Macedonia, but also to remove the Athenians from his territory.—His first aim in respect to Greece was, to establish his own claims to be considered a Greek, and to have Macedonia acknowledged as a member of the Grecian union of states. Hence the subsequent guardianship of Macedonia over the Greeks did not degenerate into an actual enslaving of them, for that would have betrayed the barbarian.—The execution of all these designs was

facilitated, when the possession of the Thracian gold mines enabled Philip together with his phalanx to create finances.

Amphipolis is taken 358, (Athens being kept quiet by promises, and Olynthus for the time by the restoration of Potidaea, which had also been taken;) and this is followed by the conquest of the mountainous district between the Nestus and Strymon, a district rich in gold, and having mines, that soon produce 1000 talents annually.

10. Philip from 357 takes part in the affairs of Thessaly, the possession of which was alike important for the execution of his plans against Greece, and for the improvement of his finances. Beginning his career as the liberator of Thessaly, he ended with finally making of it a Macedonian province.

On the request of the Aleuadae 356, the tyrants are driven from Pherae, but afterwards again find a support during the sacred war in the Phocians under Onomarchus. The final subjection of the latter 352, made Philip for the time being master of Thessaly, and he established in the three principal places Macedonian garrisons, till finally it pleased him 344, to give it entirely the form of a Macedonian province.

11. The continuing sacred war in Greece gave Philip the best opportunity of executing his plans against this country, although his first, premature, attempt to penetrate into it was frustrated by 353. Athens. The taking of Olynthus after 348. apparent inactivity, in spite of the Athenian assistance, covered his rear; and it was doubtless the master stroke of his policy, that he almost at the same time expelled the Athenians from Euboea, and yet found means to begin negotiations

with them, which after repeated embassies were followed by a peace, that opened for him the way through Thermopylae; and soon enabled him to form a party in Athens itself. 347.

12. Philip invades Greece for the first time, and terminates the sacred war by reducing the Phocians. The place, which he obtained in the assembly of the Amphictyons, brought him to the object of his wishes; and the humiliation of Sparta showed how fairly his guardianship of Greece was established. 346.

13. The state of Greece, especially of Athens, after the sacred war, needs to be considered, as well as the manner in which Philip formed and preserved his parties in the Grecian states. Bribery was not his only method; he borrowed of others as well as gave; in general it was characteristic of his policy, that he almost never made use of the same means twice. Methodical and consistent even to his carousings, he almost never appears in the same form.

A melancholy influence was exercised by the spirit of faction, the decline of religious sentiment, and also the great increase of money by means of the treasures of Delphi and Macedonia, on the morality of the Greeks.—We have to form an estimate of the power of Athens in the age of Demosthenes and Phocion. Unfortunately the eloquence and political sagacity of Demosthenes appear to have been too little supported by a talent for negotiation, and Phocion perhaps did not trust enough in his country, though Demosthenes may have trusted too much. Notwithstanding the public indolence and voluptuousness Athens was still able to preserve its importance as a naval power, for it never went really well with Philip's marine.

Demosthenes als Staatsman und Redner. Historisch-Critische Einleitung zu dessen Werken von A. G. Becker. 1815. This book is valuable as a history, and also as an introduction to the political orations of Demosthenes.

14. New conquests of Philip in Illyria and Thrace. It seems to have been his purpose to make the Adriatic Sea and the Danube the boundaries of his kingdom. Yet the Thracians were less his object, than the Grecian colonies on the Hellespont, against which the attacks of the Athenian Diopithes gave him a pretext for war. But the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, frustrated to Philip's great vexation by Phocion, arouses not the Athenians only, but the Persians from their lethargy.

15. Policy of Philip after this accident.—Whilst he seemed in the war against the barbarians on the Danube to have entirely lost the affairs of Greece out of sight, his agents were pursuing his schemes there with the greatest activity. The well-paid Aeschines obtains in the assembly of the Amphictyons his appointment as general of the Greeks in the new sacred war, to avenge the pretended sacrilege committed by the Locrians against Delphi. Agreeably to his usual maxim, he allowed them first to entreat him to come.

16. The second invasion of Greece by Philip. By garrisoning the important boundary city Elatea, he soon showed, that he fought this time not for the honor of Apollo only.—Demosthenes brings about an alliance between Athens and Thebes.—But the overthrow at Chaeronea in the same year decided the question of the dependence

of Greece. And now it was easy for Philip to play the part of magnanimity towards Athens.

17. Preparations are now made for the execution of the plan against Persia, not as his own, but as a national war of the Greeks against the barbarians. Thus by the nomination of Philip by the Amphietyons to be the general of the Greeks against the Persians, the dependence of Greece was secured in an honorable manner; and the splendor of the undertaking flattered the vanity of the nation, at whose expense it was to be executed. It is a question, whether Philip's own views extended much further?

18. The domestic government of Macedonia under so crafty and so successful a conqueror, could not but become unlimited. No pretender to the crown was able to make progress against such a ruler; and the body of life-guards, composed of the Macedonian nobility, and established by him in the beginning of his reign, contributed much towards placing him on proper terms with the grandees of his kingdom. His court became a general staff, while the nation was transformed from a poor shepherd people to a nation of warriors.—But in his family Philip was not happy; though it was hardly his fault, if he could not live in harmony with Olympias.

19. Philip, while solemnizing at Aegae the marriage of his daughter, was murdered by Pausanias; probably at the instigation of Persia. ^{336.}

20. The reign of Alexander the Great obtains its high interest in the eyes of the historian, not less by the extent, than by the continuance, ^{336 to 323.}

of the general revolution, which he occasioned. It is difficult to form a correct estimate of the prince, who died, just as he was on the point of executing his greatest designs ; but the judgment is certainly most incorrect, which sees in the pupil of Aristotle nothing more than a conqueror, wild and without a plan.

Examen critique des anciens historiens d'Alexandre le grand par Mr. de St. Croix. Seconde édition considérablement augmentée. Paris. 1804. 4to. The new edition of this, in several respects important work, (it is the leading work on the history of Alexander,) gives far more than the title promises ; but yet it contains no impartial estimate of the king.

21. The death of Philip produced great commotion at court, and in all the conquered countries, and in Greece. Great as his power seemed to be, the preservation of it depended entirely on the power of his successor, at once to establish his credit. Alexander did this by his victorious
336. expedition against the Thracian nations ; (to which he afterwards, especially by his alliance with the nation of the Agrians, was indebted for his light cavalry ;) and in Greece, by the example which he made of Thebes.

22. In the assembly at Corinth Alexander is appointed the commander in chief of the Greeks against the Persians. Yet what his father would probably have otherwise turned to account, he allowed to remain a mere title.—His plan of attack on Persia is developed.—The want of a navy, which Alexander very soon felt, would probably have frustrated his whole project, if Memnon's

counter plan of an invasion of Macedonia had not been defeated by Alexander's rapidity.

23. The Hellespont is passed and war begins. Tranquillity at home and in Greece appears to be secured, since Antipater is here invested with the government.—The victory on the Granicus opened to Alexander the way into the interior of Asia Minor; but the death of Memnon, which soon followed, was perhaps a still greater gain, than a battle won. 334.

24. The victory at Issus over Darius himself appears to have first awakened in Alexander the plan of entirely overturning the Persian throne, as is indicated by the rejection of Darius' proposals of peace. And have not the final plans of conquerors always been shaped by the progress of events? Alexander must have been very sure of his future victory, since he could suffer Darius to fly, in order first by the siege of Tyre, which lasted seven months, to become master of the sea, and, after the occupation of Egypt, which followed immediately without the effusion of blood, to erect to himself, in building Alexandria, a monument more lasting than all victories. 333.
332.

Although Alexandria afterwards probably surpassed the expectation of its founder, the selection of the site, favorable only for navigation and commerce, shows that reference was originally had to them.

25. Alexander penetrates into the interior of Africa, assisted by the silent submission of the subjected nations, and the culture of the countries. On the plains of Arbela it was the Macedonian tactics that gained the victory. 331.
Oct. 1.

The throne of Persia was now no better than overturned; and the unexpectedly easy taking of Babylon, as well as of Susa and Persepolis, was of more immediate importance than the pursuit of the flying king.

An insurrection of the Greeks (their ambassador to Darius Alexander himself took captive in the interior of Asia,) was quelled by Antipater 330.

26. The northwestern provinces of the Persian empire would perhaps have been taken only with the greatest difficulty, had not the astonishing rapidity of the conqueror repressed in their origin the designs of the traitor Bessus of establishing an empire for himself, after the murder of Darius, in Bactria. The Jaxartes now became the northern boundary of the Macedonian monarchy, as it had hitherto been of the Persian. The possession of the rich commercial countries, Bactria and Sogdiana, was of itself of great moment.

During this expedition the execution of Philotas and his father Parmenio took place, though both were probably innocent of the conspiracy, with which they were charged 330. After the death of Darius, Alexander had almost always opposers in the army, for the many believed that with that event all was ended. Carefully as Alexander conducted towards the Macedonian grandees, it is not merely in the example of Clitus that we see, how difficult it was for them to forget their ancient relations to their kings.

328 to 326. 27. Alexander's Indian expedition had its origin in his natural fondness for romantic undertakings. His own observation of Persian splendor, the conquest of such opulent countries, and his great commercial schemes could not but

gradually mature in his mind the plan of conquering that land, which was described to him as peculiarly the gold country of Asia. To this came the imperfect geographical accounts; for his empire would, as it seemed, be entirely completed, if it were to extend to the Eastern ocean.—It certainly seems, that Alexander had not a sufficient knowledge of the country, when he undertook his expedition against it.

Alexander's invasion was directed against Northern India, or Punjâb; at that time a populous and highly cultivated land; now the abode of the Seiks, and in part of the Mah-rattas; even then inhabited by warlike tribes. He passed the Indus at Taxila (Attock), crossed the Hydaspes (Bahut or Jylum), and, here taking advantage of the differences of the Indian princes, conquered the king Porus. He then passed the Acesines (Chenâb) and Hydraotes (Ravey). The eastern limit of his expedition was the river Hyphasis (Beyah), where the revolt of his army, while yet but half way to the Ganges, compelled him to return. Returning he passed through the country of the Malli (Mooltan) to the Hydaspes, where the largest part of the army embarked, to pass from this river into the Acesines, and from this to the Indus, down which they sailed to its mouth.

Rennel's *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*. London. 1793. 3d edit., as well as,

St. Croix *Examen*, &c. (page 222) contains all necessary historical-geographical explanations of Alexander's Persian and Indian expeditions.

28. Although Alexander was compelled to relinquish the conquest of India, still the connection of Europe and India, which continued from that time, was his work. The communication by land was secured by the colonies which he established,

and, by the voyage of his general Nearchus, it was his intention to open the communication by sea from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates. At the same time he himself on his return to Persis and Babylon, passed through the desert provinces of Gedrosia and Carmania, which till then had never been visited.

The voyage of Nearchus (known to us by his own journal, which Arrian has preserved for us in his *Indicis*,) lasted from the beginning of October 326 to the end of February 325, and the almost incredible march of the king about as long.

The voyage of Nearchus, from the Indus to the Euphrates, by D. Vincent. London. 1797. 4to. A most instructive investigation, at the same time illustrated by excellent Maps.

29. The whole extent of Alexander's conquests, after he had given up India, was exactly that of the former Persian empire, and his farther schemes probably extended only to Arabia. But easy as it had been to make these conquests, it seemed hardly in a less degree difficult to maintain them, for Macedonia, already much exhausted by constant recruiting, could not furnish sufficient garrisons. Alexander removed this difficulty by protecting the conquered from oppression, and respecting their religion; partly by leaving the civil government in the hands of natives, chiefly of those who had been employed before; while the command of the garrisons only, which remained in the principal places and the newly established colonies, was entrusted to Macedonians. It was his

principle to overturn in the interior as little as possible.

30. Simple as the plans of Alexander were for the beginning, so great they seem to have been for the future time. Babylon was to become the chief city of his empire and so of the world. The union of the East and the West was to be promoted by amalgamating the ruling nations by intermarriages and education, but still more by the bands of commerce, the importance of which in Asia much ruder conquerors soon learned to value. The superiority of his genius manifests itself perhaps in nothing so much as in the elevation above all national prejudices, in which elevation his Macedonians were least of all able to come near him. It is impossible to deny him this merit, whatever judgment may in other respects be formed of his character.

31. The unexpected death of Alexander of ^{323.} a fever in Babylon was under existing circum- ^{Ap.21.}stances the greatest calamity, which could have befallen mankind. From the Indus to the Nile the world lay in ruins, and who was now to make good the place of the only architect, capable of reconstructing the pile?

The illness of Alexander may very readily be accounted for, from the excessive fatigue he had undergone, and from the mal' aria, to which he exposed himself in clearing the canals of Babylon.—He unquestionably did not die of poison, and when intemperance in drinking is charged upon him, allowance must be made for the customs of the Persian and Macedonian court. Was it otherwise with Peter the Great? When an opinion is to be formed of his moral

character, we must not forget the natural violence of his feelings, which were capable of the most rapid transitions, and the unavoidable influence of constant success on man.

SECOND PERIOD.

*History of the Macedonian Monarchy from the death of Alexander the Great to the battle at Ipsus, 323—301.**

Sources. The chief authority is Diodorus Lib. xviii—xx, who extracted his accounts chiefly from a contemporary historian, Hieronymus of Cardia. In connection with him we have Plutarch in his biographies of Eumenes, Demetrius, and Phocion; as well as Justin Lib. xiii, &c. Of Arrian's history of the successors of Alexander, we unfortunately have a few extracts in Photius.

Mannert Geschichte der Nachfolger Alexander's. Nürnberg. 1787.—With the author's usual critical accuracy and learning.

1. The very first arrangements, that were made after the death of Alexander, contained the seeds of all the melancholy revolutions, which afterwards took place. Not only the jealousy and ambition of the leading men, but the interference of the army also, is here manifested in a fearful manner. And although the idea of the supremacy of the royal family was but gradually discarded, the relations in this family were so entangled and so melancholy, that its fall seemed inevitable.

* To render it more easy to take a general view, the history of the European events will be brought up in the particular history of Macedonia.

Condition of the royal family on the death of Alexander. He left his wife Roxana pregnant, who in three months gave birth to Alexander, the rightful heir of the empire ; an illegitimate son Hercules ; his illegitimate half-brother Arrhidaeus ; his mother, the proud and cruel Olympias, and sister Cleopatra, both widows ; the artful Eurydice, daughter of Cyane, a sister of Philip's, afterwards wife of king Arrhidaeus, and Thessalonice, Philip's daughter, afterwards wife of Cassander of Macedonia.

2. The weak Arrhidaeus under the name of Philip and the child Alexander were at last proclaimed as kings, while the regency was conferred on Perdiccas, Leonnatus, and Meleager, of whom the last was soon murdered at the instigation of Perdiccas. Yet Antipater, at whose side Craterus was placed as civil governor, preserved the direction of European affairs.

3. Thus the subsequent history could not but become a history of Satraps, who quarrelled among themselves, because all desired to rule and none to obey. This continued for twenty-two years, till firmer masses were formed from the fragments of the Macedonian monarchy. In few periods of history is the change of events so great, and for that reason the preservation of a general view so difficult. The most convenient division is into three periods, of which the first extends to the death of Perdiccas 321, the second to the death of Eumenes 315, and the third to the overthrow and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus 301.

4. First division of the provinces by Perdiccas. The vain man appears to have intended to enforce his claims as regent by reserving

no single province for himself; and calculated entirely on having the command of the royal army; which had yet given so many proofs that it would not obey, but command.

On the division Ptolemaeus Lagi received Egypt, Leonnatus Mysia, Antigonus Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphilia, Lysimachus Macedonian Thrace, while Macedonia remained to Antipater and Craterus.—The foreigner Eumenes would hardly have received Cappadocia, which was yet to be conquered, if Perdiccas could have done without him. The other provinces were either not divided anew, or the governors are not remarkable.

5. The first act of the regency of Perdiccas showed, how little he would be able to count upon the obedience of his former colleagues. The general revolt of the hired troops, whom Alexander had settled in Upper Asia, and who desired to return to their country, was quieted with their destruction by Python, who was sent against them; but the cause was not in Python, if he did not make himself independent master of Upper Asia.

6. So much the more refractory were Leonnatus and Antigonus, when they received the commission of putting Eumenes in possession of his province. Antigonus was too proud to obey others, and Leonnatus preferred to go to Europe to marry Cleopatra, where however he fell directly in the

322. Lamian war (see below). Perdiccas upon this executed the business himself with the royal army by the victory over Ariarathes.

7. Perdiccas, cherishing the ambitious design of mounting the throne by marrying Cleopatra, repudiated Nicaea, the daughter of Antipater. Cleo-

patra actually came to Asia. But when Perdiccas at the request of the army was obliged to marry Eurydice, the daughter of Philip's sister, after the murder of her mother Cyane, to the king Arrhidaeus, he found in her a rival in the government, and an opponent, who was very troublesome to him.

8. Perdiccas makes attempts to overthrow Antigonus and Ptolemaeus by complaints before the army. The former flies to Antipater in Macedonia; and occasions the union between Antipater, Craterus and Ptolemaeus, against Perdiccas and his friend Eumenes. 321.

9. Beginning and end of the first war. 321. Whilst Perdiccas himself marches to Egypt, and leaves with his friend Eumenes the command in Asia Minor, Antipater and Craterus invade Asia. While the first advances towards Syria against Perdiccas, Craterus is routed and killed by Eumenes. But even before the arrival of Antigonus, Perdiccas, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to cross the Nile, became the victim of the mutiny of his army.—Thus three of the chief personages, Perdiccas, Craterus, and Leonnatus had left the stage; and Eumenes, who had just been victorious, had now to sustain alone the attack of the allies. 320.

10. Second period, from the death of Perdiccas to the death of Eumenes.—As Python and Arrhidaeus quickly resign, Antipater becomes regent.—A new division of the provinces is made at Trisparadisus in Syria. Seleucus receives Babylon, and all the lands of the outlawed 320 to 315.

Eumenes were promised to Antigonus in addition to his former possessions.

320. 11. War of Antigonus against Eumenes. The latter being overcome by treachery, shuts himself up in a firm mountain forest, Nora, to wait for better times, and Antigonus becomes master of all Asia Minor; while Ptolemaeus ventures to possess himself of Syria and Phenicia.

319. 12. In the same year 320, died Antipater, the regent, naming the aged Polysperchon, to the neglect of his own son Cassander, his successor as regent. Antigonus now begins to discover his ambitious views, and wishes, yet in vain, to win Eumenes, who, taking advantage of the opportunity and circumventing him in the negotiations, escapes from his fortress.

13. Whilst Eumenes was on his way to Upper Asia, in the design of strengthening himself there, news is brought him of his nomination to the chief command of the royal troops. And whom could Polysperchon have with better reason elected to that office, than the man, who in his conduct towards Antigonus had just given so strong a proof of his attachment to the royal house?

318. 14. Eumenes vainly endeavors to sustain himself in Lower Asia, since the naval victory of Antigonus over the royal fleet under Clitus, takes from him the dominion of the sea. He 317. takes up his march for Upper Asia, and there in the spring forms a union with the satraps, who were already under arms against the powerful Seleucus of Babylon.

15. As Antigonus, in the same year 317, follows him, Upper Asia becomes the seat of the war. Attacked by Antigonus in his winter quarters, through the mutiny of the Argyraspidae, who had lost their baggage, he was after the battle delivered up to Antigonus, who was obliged ^{315.} to have him executed. The royal house lost in him its solitary faithful defender.

16. But in the royal house much had meantime changed. Olympias, who, after the death of her enemy Antipater, on the invitation of Polysperchon given by him to strengthen himself against Cassander, had returned from Epirus, had caused Arrhidaeus and his wife to be executed; but was the next year besieged by Cassander in Pydna, and after her surrender was executed in her turn; while Cassander kept ^{317.} Roxana and the young king in his power. ^{315.}

17. Third division of time, from the death ^{315 to} of Eumenes to the death of Antigonus.—The ^{301.} destruction of Eumenes seemed to have continued forever the dominion of Antigonus, in Asia; especially as the youthful old man beheld himself, as it were, revive in the bold rioter and talented visionary, his son Demetrius.—Even Seleucus thought ^{315.} it for his safety to fly from Babylon to Egypt.

18. Antigonus, having made changes in the upper provinces, returns to Asia Minor, where ^{314.} his presence seemed in the highest degree necessary on account of the aggrandizement of Ptolemy in Syria and Phenicia, of the Macedonian Cassander in Europe, of Lysimachus in Mysia, and of the Cassander of Caria in Asia Minor.—

He again puts himself in possession of Phenicia, which was absolutely necessary to him for building a fleet.

The siege of Tyre, which continued 14 months, 314—313, shows that the city had by no means been destroyed by Alexander.

19. The fugitive Seleucus forms a league against Antigonus and Demetrius between Ptolemy, the two Cassanders, and Lysimachus. But Antigonus prevents their union, he himself expelling the Carian Lysander, and sending his son against Ptolemy.

Ptolemy gains a victory over Demetrius at Gaza 312, after which Seleucus returns to Babylon, and, notwithstanding he is afterwards pursued by Demetrius, he is able to keep his ground in Upper Asia.—On the other hand Ptolemy gave up Syria and Phenicia, as soon as Antigonus approached with the main army 312.

20. A general peace is closed between Antigonus and his foes, but with the exception of Seleucus, from whom Upper Asia is again to be taken.

311. The first condition, that every one should keep what he had, sufficiently shows, that Antigonus prescribed the peace; the second, that the Grecian cities should be free, contained the seed to a new war, which they were to begin when they pleased; and the third, that Alexander, who was now growing up, should, as soon as he became of age ascend the Macedonian throne, was, perhaps designedly, the sentence of death of the unhappy prince, who with his mother was in the same year executed by Cassander.—Cleopatra too came soon afterwards to her end by the measures of Antigo-

mus, lest Ptolemy should gain claims by marrying her.

21. Even the executing of the peace could not but produce hostilities, for Ptolemy wished to compel Antigonos, and he again Cassander, to withdraw their garrisons from the Grecian cities, which neither was disposed to do. The freedom of the Greeks was now a mere idea ; but it is not the only example in history, that political ideas become most influential, when they have out-lived themselves ; for they can still be used to great purpose as pretexts.

Expedition of Demetrius for the liberation of Athens 308. It was the happiest day of his life, when he announced their liberty to the Athenians ! Few scenes in history are psychologically more remarkable, than the double stay of Demetrius at Athens.

22. The increasing naval power of Ptolemy and the taking of Cyprus determine Antigonos to a formal rupture ; which was done by giving his son the commission to drive him out of Cyprus.

Demetrius won a great naval victory near Cyprus 307, perhaps the greatest and the bloodiest in all history. And yet it decided as little for the whole, as naval victories commonly do. The assuming of the title of king, first by the conqueror, next by the conquered, and afterwards by the rest, was, since the extinction of the royal family, nothing more than a mere formality.

23. The victors failing in their attempt 306. to conquer Egypt, determined to find their victim in the rich commercial republic of Rhodes, as an ally of Egypt. But though by the remarkable siege of the principal city Demetrius won for

305. himself the name of Poliorcetes, yet the excellent defence of the Rhodians showed, what discipline and well directed patriotism can effect.

304. It happened very opportunely for Demetrius, that he was able at the request of the Athenians to withdraw for the more urgent necessity of liberating Greece.

24. Second residence of Demetrius in Greece. The expulsion of the garrisons of Cassander from the Grecian cities, especially in the Peloponnesus, and the nomination of Demetrius as general of the Greeks, for the purpose of conquering Macedonia and Thrace, showed not to Cassander alone, but to the other princes, how much it was their common interest to oppose the too powerful Antigonus.

25. The third great alliance between Cassander, Ptolemy, and Seleucus against Antigonus and
302. his son is formed by Cassander. How easy would it have been for Antigonus, even after the rapid incursion of Lysimachus into Asia Minor, to have divided the force of the impending storm, if the presumptuous man had not trusted too much in his fortune.

26. Seleucus from Babylon and Lysimachus form
301. a junction in Phrygia. Antigonus also, to concentrate his force, recalls his son from Greece, who had already penetrated to the Macedonian confines. The prudent Ptolemy on the other hand scarcely ventures to invade; and is induced by a false rumor of the defeat of Lysimachus to retreat to Egypt.

27. A great and decisive battle is fought at Ipsus

in Phrygia in the spring of 301. It not only cost Antigonus his life, but also annihilated his kingdom, which the two conquerors divided between themselves without any care for their absent allies. Lysimachus received Asia Minor as far as the Taurus; all the rest fell to Seleucus; except that they gave Cilicia to Plisthenes, the brother of Cassander.—Demetrius by the assistance of his naval power escaped to Greece.

28. The almost uninterrupted series of wars, since the death of Alexander, made it in itself impossible to effect much for the organization of internal affairs. It seems to have been almost exclusively military. Yet the frequent devastations were in some measure repaired by the building of new cities, in which these princes endeavored to rival one another, partly from vanity to perpetuate their names, and partly for the maintenance of their power, for the new places were chiefly military colonies. Yet this could but poorly compensate for the many oppressions, to which the native nations were exposed, at whose expense the armies were accustomed to live. The extension of the Greek language and culture took from them all that was peculiarly characteristic; as their languages ceased to be anything more than dialects of the people. The monarchy of Alexander gives a striking proof, how little is to be expected from the violent mixture of nations, when that union is purchased by all that is national in them severally.

Heyne *opum regni Macedonici auctarum, attritarum et eversarum, causae probabiles*; in *Opusc. T. IV.* The collection contains several other tracts on Grecian and Macedonian history, which cannot all be separately cited.

THIRD PERIOD.

History of the several kingdoms and states, which arose out of the division of the Macedonian monarchy, after the battle of Ipsus.

I. History of the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucidae. 312—64.

Sources. Neither for the history of the Syrian, nor for that of the Egyptian and Macedonian kingdoms have we any leading writer, who is preserved entire. The fragments of the lost books of Diodorus, and from the times, when these kingdoms came into connection with Rome, those of Polybius, many accounts in Livy, and the Syriaca in Appian, together with some biographies of Plutarch, are the chief authorities; and we have too frequently followed the abridgement of Justin. For the history of the Seleucidae, on account of their relations and wars with the Jews, Josephus in his Antiquities, as well as the books of the Maccabees are very important. Besides these sources the many coins of these kings, which have been preserved, are very important for their Genealogy and Chronology.

Besides the universal history of Guthrie and Gray in the German translation, the leading modern work is :

Vaillant Imperium Seleucidarum sive historia regum Syriae. 1631. 4to. The investigation is founded chiefly upon coins. So too in :

Frölich Annales rerum et regum Syriae. Viennae. 1754

1. The kingdom of the Seleucidae was at first founded in Upper Asia by Seleucus Nicator. It was a large kingdom, of which the component parts were acquired by conquest, and therefore never received any internal consistency, except from the energy of its rulers. But this declined

with the founder; and the removal of the royal residence from the banks of the Tigris to Syria, entangled it in all the quarrels of the western world; and facilitated the revolt of the upper provinces. Its history is naturally divided into the periods before and after the war with Rome; but when that war broke out, its fall had already long been prepared.

Seleucus in 321 received Babylon as a province, but after the defeat of Eumenes 315 he was obliged to fly, because he would not submit to the victor Antigonus. But his mild administration had made him so beloved, that after the victory of Ptolemy over Demetrius at Gaza 312, he could venture with a weak train to return to Babylon. In this year the kingdom of the Seleucidae takes its beginning.

2. Whilst Antigonus was employed in Asia Minor, Seleucus in the following ten years extends his dominion over all Upper Asia, and with ease, the more Antigonus had made himself hated there for his severity. After the victory over 312. Nicanor of Media, almost every thing in that quarter declared of itself in his favor, and after 311. the unsuccessful expedition of Demetrius, Antigonus himself no longer ventured to assert his claims. In 307 Seleucus found himself in possession of all the countries between the Euphrates, Indus and Oxus.

3. Grand Indian expedition of Seleucus against the king Sandrocottus. He advanced to 305. the Ganges, and the intimate connection, into which he entered with Sandrocottus, was afterwards continued and maintained by ambassadors. The great multitude of elephants, which he brought back with

him, were not the greatest advantage, derived from this expedition; the restoration of the connection with India appears to have continued ever after.

301. 4. By the battle of Ipsus Seleucus immediately acquired the greatest part of the lands of Antigonus, Syria, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Armenia; and Syria was unfortunately from that time made the chief province of the kingdom, (yet Coelosyria and Phenicia remained in the hands of Ptolemy). How different a course would the history of the Seleucidae have taken, if Seleucia on the Tigris had remained their place of residence, and the Euphrates had remained their boundary?

5. Mutual relations are now formed among the kings, who compose as it were a system of states, in which there is a visible effort for the preservation of a balance of power, partly by alliances, partly by marriages.

Seleucus forms a connection with Demetrius Poliorcetes, by marrying his daughter, the beautiful Stratonice, to preserve the equilibrium against the allied Ptolemy and Lysimachus, as Lysimachus and his son Agathocles had connected themselves with two daughters of Ptolemy.

301 to 283. 6. The eighteen years of repose, which Asia enjoyed after the battle of Ipsus, shows that Seleucus was one of the few successors of Alexander, who had a taste for the arts of peace. The bloom of many of the cities, which he either actually built anew, or beautified, among which the new capital Antiochia in Syria and the double Seleucia on the Tigris and the Orontes are the most important, was especially a fruit of the res-

toration of the commerce with the eastern countries, to which commerce new roads on the chief rivers of Asia, especially the Oxus, seem to have been opened.

7. The internal organization of the kingdom was according to satrapies, of which there were 72. But the maxim of Alexander, to give the satrapies to natives, was entirely disregarded by his successors; of which the Seleucidae soon felt the effects. Under a prince like Seleucus, no kingdom could easily fall asunder; but he even anticipated such an event by ceding Upper Asia together with his wife Stratonice to his son Antiochus; yet not without the previous consent of the army. ^{293.}

8. The war with Lysimachus was occasioned by ancient jealousy, and broke out in consequence of family quarrels. The battle at Curupedion cost Lysimachus his throne and life, and Asia Minor became a part of the Syrian kingdom. ^{282.} But as Seleucus passed over into Europe, to take Macedonia, he was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, and with him the splendor of his empire may be said to have declined. ^{281.}

9. The reign of his son Antiochus I. Soter appeared, it is true, thus far to be unfortunate, as the kingdom on the whole preserved its extent; but in a state founded by conquest, it is the sure forerunner of a speedy decline, if, as was here the case, the attempts to make new conquests are unsuccessful.—The more that in such a state every thing depends on the personal charac-

ter of the ruler, the sooner must the degeneracy of a family like that of the Seleucidae be perceptible !

The first conquests of his father in Asia Minor precipitated Antiochus into new wars, although he resigned his claims to Macedonia by the marriage of his step-daughter Phila with Antigonus Gonatas 277.—Unsuccessful attempts to subject Bithynia 279, the king of which, Nicomedes, calls to his assistance the Galli, who had invaded Macedonia, (see below), and gives them residences in Galatia 277, which they are able to maintain even after the victory of Antiochus over them 275, and from this time become important by taking part in the wars as mercenaries.—So too the newly-established kingdom of Pergamus flourished, in spite of the attack of Antiochus 263, at the expense of the Syrian kingdom ; and the invasion of Egypt, to support the rebel Magas, was frustrated in advance by Ptolemy II. 264.

^{262 to} 10. Antiochus II. Theos. His reign was ^{247.} one of women ; and the internal weakness of his kingdom was manifest from the secession of several of the eastern provinces, out of which the Parthian and Bactrian kingdoms were formed. The boundless luxury of the court promoted the degeneration of the ruling family, which, once on the decline, if from no other reason from constantly marrying in itself, could scarcely recover.

His step-sister and wife Laodice exercises influence, as also his sister Apame, the widow of Magas, who entangled him in a war with Ptolemy II., to establish her claims on Cyrene, which war was ended, after the repudiation of Laodice, by a marriage with Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, 260—252. But when he, after the death of Ptolemy 247, exchanged Berenice for Laodice again, the latter poisoned him from distrust.—The separation of Parthia was effected by driving away the Macedonian governor, Arsaces, who

founded the house of the Arsacidae ; that of Parthia on the contrary was brought about by the Macedonian governor, Theodotus himself, who made himself independent. (Of both kingdoms see below). Yet these kingdoms originally embraced, the former a part of Parthia, the latter Bactria and perhaps also Sogdiana, but both were soon enlarged at the expense of the Seleucidae.

11. Seleucus II. Callinicus. His twenty ^{247 to} years' reign is an unbroken series of wars, in ^{227.} which the enfeebled kingdom was involved partly by the hatred of Laodice and Berenice with Egypt, partly by the jealousy of his brother Antiochus Hierax, partly by his unsuccessful efforts to recover the upper provinces.

The murder of Berenice occasioned a most unsuccessful war with Ptolemy Evergetes of Egypt 247—244. The assistance, which Seleucus seeks of his younger brother Antiochus, the governor of Asia Minor, forces Ptolemy to a truce 243, but a war follows between the two brothers, in which Antiochus, at first victorious, is soon conquered 243—240, and during which Eumenes of Pergamus enlarges his dominions very much, at the expense of Syria 242.—His first expedition against Arsaces, who had formed an alliance with the Bactrian king, ended in a defeat 238, which the Parthians consider as the true epoch of the foundation of their kingdom ; and on the second expedition 236, he himself fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Parthians, where he long remained, perhaps till his death 227.

12. His elder son Seleucus III. Ceraunus, ^{227.} was very soon, on an expedition against king Attalus of Pergamus, destroyed by poison. ^{224:} But Achaeus, the son of his mother's brother, confirmed the sovereignty of the Seleucidae in Asia Minor, and also preserved the crown for the younger brother Antiochus, governor of Babylon.

224 to 187. 13. The long reign of Antiochus III. the Great, is not only the most crowded with action in the Syrian history, but also forms an epoch on account of the relations, into which Syria now comes with Rome.—In a series of such princes it was pretty easy to get the surname of Great.

218. 14. Hermias the Carian acquiring great power and soon becoming dangerous to the young king, the latter gets rid of him by assassination.—The great insurrection, which the brothers Molo and Alexander, Satraps of Media and Persia, excited, probably in understanding with Hermias, threatened the king with the loss of all the upper provinces, but ended with the overthrow of Molo, as Hermias was at last unable to prevent the king from marching against him in person.

220. 15. The arts of Hermias drive Achæus in Asia Minor to a rebellion, but Antiochus held it more important, to execute his early plan of driving the Ptolemies from their possessions in Syria, which, much as it at first seemed to succeed, was finally frustrated by the battle at Raphia.—But Antiochus, in connection with Attalus of Pergamus, conquered Achæus, who, shutting himself up in the fortress of Sardes, fell into the hands of Antiochus by treachery.

214 to 205. 16. A great military expedition of Antiochus into the upper provinces is occasioned by the seizure of Media by Arsaces III.—The contest with Arsaces ended by a compromise, by which he ceded to him Parthia and Hyrcania in form; and on the other hand received of Arsa-

ees promises of assistance against Bactria.—But the war against Bactria was likewise followed by a peace, by the terms of which the Bactrian king Euthydemus retains his crown and his lands.—The expedition, which Antiochus after this, accompanied by Demetrius of Bactria, undertook against India, probably extended far into the interior, and had for this land important consequences. (See below the history of Bactria). Yet in consequence of these great expeditions the dominion of the Seleucidae was re-established in Upper Asia, except in the countries, which were now formally resigned.

On the return through Arachotus and Carmania, where he passed the winter, he also undertook a maritime expedition on the Persian Gulf, where Gerrha, which retained its freedom, appears as a flourishing commercial city.

17. He renews his plan against Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, and formed an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, who at that time made war in Asia. Antiochus, it is true, gained his point of becoming master of Coelosyria and Phenicia, the possessions of the Ptolemies in Syria, but by that very means he first fell into disputes with Rome, which afterwards became of such decisive importance for himself and his successors.

18. The king comes into greater collisions with Rome by the conquest of the greatest part of Asia Minor and the Thracian Chersonesus, especially as Hannibal fled to him for refuge, and the probability became great of an extensive union against Rome, which after the con-

quest of Carthage 201, or of Macedonia 197, knew how to win Greece by the magic word of Liberty. But Antiochus spoilt everything, for instead of attacking the Romans in their own territory, according to the advice of Hannibal, he made preparations for a defence, and was attacked by them in

190. Asia. The defeat at Magnesia on the Sipylus compelled him to accept the conditions which Rome dictated to him, and the power of the Syrian kingdom was broken forever.

The history of the war see below in the Roman history.

19. According to the conditions of the peace Antiochus was obliged, 1. to evacuate the whole of Asia Minor (Asia cis Taurum). 2. He paid 15000 talents, and to Eumenes of Pergamus 400. 3. Hannibal and some others were to be delivered up, and Antiochus, the king's younger son, to be given as a hostage.—This peace was far less injurious to the Syrian king by the loss of territory, than by the use which the Romans made of it. For they, giving part of the lands thus ceded to the kings of Pergamus, thus created for their enemy a rival power, which could always be used according to pleasure against the Syrian kings.—By stipulating, that the promised sum should be paid at different periods in twelve years, Rome provided for continuing to keep Syria for the present in a state of dependence.

20. The king is murdered 187. The reign of his elder son Seleucus IV. Philopator is peaceful from weakness.—Once indeed he drew the sword to support Pharnaces, king of Pontus, against

Eumenes ; but sheathed it again through
fear of Rome. He exchanged his son for his
brother in Rome, but fell a victim to the am-
bition of his minister Heliodorus.

180.

176.

21. Antiochus IV., Epiphanes. Educated
in Rome, he sought to unite Roman popu-
lar manners with Syrian luxury ; and thus made
himself universally hated and contemptible. We
are too little acquainted with his history to de-
cide, whether much of the evil that is said of him
is not exaggerated, especially in the Jewish ac-
counts. At least we cannot but perceive in him
amidst all his vices some good dispositions.

176 to

164.

22. The war with Egypt is occasioned by the
claims of Philopator to Coelosyria and Pales-
tine. Dark as are some points in the history of
this war, it is yet clear, that Antiochus conducted
it victoriously, and would have become master of
Egypt, if Rome had not interfered.

172 to

168.

The pretence for war on the Egyptian side was, that those
provinces had been promised by Antiochus III as the dowry
of Cleopatra, (sister of Antiochus and mother of Philometor) ;
Antiochus Epiphanes on the contrary laid claim as it
seems to the regency in Egypt as uncle to the young king,
who was however soon declared of age.—War breaks out
and Antiochus gains a victory at Pelusium, after which
Cyprus is betrayed into his hands.—By fortifying Pelusium,
he intended to secure to himself the possession of Coelosy-
ria, and render the future invasion of Egypt easy.—Another
victory is won 170, and Egypt is taken as far as Alexandria.
Philometor, who had been chased by a revolt from Alexan-
dria, where his brother Physcon was placed on the throne,
falls into the hands of Antiochus, who closes with him a
peace, favorable to himself, and in return promises him as

sistance against Physcon.—The siege of Alexandria follows 169 ; but without effect. After his retreat Physcon closes for himself a separate peace with his brother, according to which both are to rule in common, and he is received in Alexandria. The embittered Antiochus now declares war against both brothers, who sought help in Rome, and invades Egypt again in 168, where however the Roman ambassador Popillius spoke in so bold a tone, that peace has to be purchased by delivering up Cyprus and Pelusium.

23. The religious intolerance of Epiphanes, which led him to desire to introduce the Greek worship among the nations of his kingdom, is the more remarkable as it was uncommon in that age. It seems to have had its cause in the love of splendor, and at the same time in the avarice of the king, as he could in this way most easily gain possession of the treasures of the temples, which since the defeat of his father Rome had^{167.} ceased to spare. The revolt of the Jews, which was then occasioned, under the Maccabees, laid the foundation to the subsequent independence of the nation ; and weakened not a little the Syrian kingdom.

The history of this revolt will be found below in the Jewish history. The deep ruin of the finances of the Seleucidae, which became so evident since the last years of Antiochus the Great, may be sufficiently explained partly from the increased voluptuousness of the kings, while their revenues were declining, partly from the great presents, which beside the tribute it was necessary to send to Rome, in order to maintain a party there.

24. His expedition to Upper Asia, especially Persis, where in consequence of the introduction of the Grecian worship great commotions had

arisen, had for its object the plundering of temples, as well as the recovery of Armenia. He died however, on the journey to Babylon. 165.

25. As Demetrius, the rightful heir to the throne, was detained as a hostage at Rome, 164 to 161. Antiochus V. Eupator, son of Epiphanes, a child of nine years, succeeded. During his short reign the empire of the Seleucidae, by the dissensions of his guardians, the despotism of the Romans, the continuing wars with the Jews, and the new and great conquests of the Parthians, became an enfeebled kingdom.

A contest arises between Lysias, the regent, in the absence of Epiphanes, and Philip, whom the king before his death had appointed guardian, and ends with the overthrow of Philip 162.—The young Eupator is acknowledged in Rome, that the guardianship may be assumed by the senate, which administers it by a commission, sent for the purpose, and leaves the king utterly defenceless; though the leader of the embassy, Octavius, was murdered, probably at the instigation of Lysias.—Whilst the Parthian king Mithridates I. begins his great conquests at the expense of the Syrian empire in Upper Asia, Demetrius secretly escapes from Rome, and gains possession of the throne, causing Eupator and Lysias to be executed 161.

26. Demetrius I. Soter. He succeeds in making himself recognized by Rome; on which all depended. The attempts at enlarging his power by supporting Orofernes, a pretender to the crown of Cappadocia, against the king Ariarathes, had their origin partly in family relations, but still more, as indeed almost all political negotiations of the times, in bribery. He thus only

drew upon himself the hostility of the kings of Pergamus and Egypt, and as he was moreover hated by his own subjects for his riotous living, the shameless usurpation of Alexander Balas,
 154. occasioned by the banished governor of Babylon, Heraclidas, a favorite of Epiphanes, could hardly fail of success, especially as he was assisted by the more shameless conduct of the Roman senate, which acknowledged him. The Syrian kingdom had then sunk so low, that both the king and the usurper had to court the assistance of the Jews under Jonathan, who till now had been treated as rebels. In the second battle Demetrius lost his life.

150 to 27. The Usurper Alexander Balas endea-
 145. vors to confirm his authority by marrying Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemaeus Philometor; but soon shows himself even more unworthy of the throne than his predecessor. As he leaves the government to his favorite, the hated Ammonius, the eldest son of Demetrius not only succeeds in assembling a party against him, but in exciting Philometor to join his side and give to him for his wife Cleopatra, whom he takes from Balas. The consequence of this union with Egypt
 145. was the expulsion and fall of Balas, although the battle cost Philometor his life.

The account, that Philometor wished to conquer Syria for himself, is probably to be explained, that he designed to retain Coelosyria and Phenicia, the old possessions of Egypt.—Why else did he give his daughter to another pretender to the crown?

28. Demetrius II., Nicator, 145—141 and ^{145 to}
 for the second time 130—126. Whilst he ^{126.}
 embittered the hired troops of his father by dis-
 missing them, the severity of his favorite Lasthe-
 nes occasions in the chief city a revolt, which it
 required the assistance of the Jews under Jona-
 than, their high priest and leader, to quell.—
 Under these circumstances a partisan of Ba- ^{145.}
 las, Diodotus, afterwards called Tryphon, excited
 an insurrection, and at first putting forward Antio-
 chus, the son of Balas, and with the assis- ^{144.}
 tance of Jonathan, actually placing him in
 Antiochia on the throne, he soon removed him ^{143.}
 by murder, having first made Jonathan his
 prisoner by treachery, and himself assumed ^{142.}
 the crown.—Notwithstanding Demetrius main-
 tains himself in only a part of Syria, he is yet able
 to follow the invitation of the Grecian colonists in
 Upper Asia, to assist them against the Parthians,
 who had now extended their conquests to the
 Euphrates.—But victorious as he at first was, he
 soon became a prisoner of the Parthians, and ^{140 to}
 though treated as a king, he yet remained ^{130.}
 ten years in this captivity.

29. To maintain herself against Tryphon, Cleo-
 patra marries the younger and better brother, An-
 tiochus of Sida, who conquers and slays Try- ^{139.}
 phon, at first in alliance with the Jews, whom
 he soon afterwards subjected. As master of Syria he
 undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, ^{132.}
 in which he is at first assisted by the subjects
 of the Parthians themselves, and is victorious, but is

131. soon in his winter quarters, himself with his army, cut in pieces by these same allies.

If the accounts of the monstrous luxury of his army are not exaggerated, they furnish the clearest evidence of the military despotism of that period. By incessant pillaging and extortion the wealth of the countries had come into the hands of the soldiers; and the condition of Syria resembled perhaps that of Egypt under the Marmeluke Sultans.

130 to 126. 30. Demetrius, who had meantime escaped from captivity, again takes possession of the throne. But as he grew still more haughty than before, and took part in the dissensions of Egypt, Ptolemaeus Physcon opposes to him a rival in Alexander Zebinas, a pretended son of Alexander 302. Belas, by whom he was defeated and lost his life.

The Parthian king Phraates II. had at first sent Demetrius, to whom his sister Rhodogune was married, from his captivity to Syria, that he might force Antiochus to retreat. When Antiochus subsequently fell, the Parthian would have very gladly overtaken Demetrius; but he escaped.

126 to 85. 31. The following history of the Seleucidae is a picture of civil wars, family quarrels, and deeds of horror, to which a counterpart can hardly be found. The empire now extended no further than to the Euphrates, as all Upper Asia obeyed the Parthians. And as the Jews too were entirely independent, it was limited to Syria Proper and Phenicia. The decline was so deep, that even the Romans seem for a long time not to have cared for it; partly because not much was to be gained there, partly because it seemed the safest course, to let the Seleucidae mutually waste each other's strength, till finally, after terminating the last war

with Mithridates the Great, the Romans were
pleased formally to make of it a Roman 64.
province.

War between Alexander Zebina and the ambitious Cleopatra, the widow of Demetrius, who with her own hand murdered her son Seleucus 125 for assuming the crown, and then gave it to her younger son Antiochus Grypus ; who, however, soon saw himself compelled to rescue his own life by murdering his mother 122 ; after Alexander Zebina had 123 been defeated and executed.—After a peaceful reign of eight years 122—114, Antiochus Grypus becomes entangled in a war with his half-brother Antiochus of Cyzicus, (son of Cleopatra by Antiochus Sidetes,) and this war terminates 111 in a division. Yet the fraternal war soon began anew, and while the miserable kingdom seemed on the point of falling asunder, Grypus was murdered 97.—As Seleucus, the eldest of his five sons, defeated and killed Cyzicenus 96, the war continued between his son Antiochus Eusebes, and the sons of Grypus ; and as Eusebes was finally driven out 90, the remaining sons of Grypus made war on one another, till the Syrians, tired of bloodshed, finally did, what they should have done much sooner, and committed the government to another king, Tigranes of Armenia 85. Yet Selene, the widow of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais till 70, whose elder son Antiochus Asiaticus, when Tigranes was defeated by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, possessed himself of some provinces of Syria 68 ; which, however, after the entire defeat of Mithridates, were taken from him by Pompey, and all Syria, which Tigranes was obliged to give up, was made a Roman province 64. Soon after with Antiochus Asiaticus, who died 58, and his brother Seleucus Cybiosactes, who by his marriage with Berenice had been raised to the Egyptian throne, but was murdered at her command 57, the house of the Seleucidae was extinguished.

II. History of the Egyptian Kingdom under the Ptolemies. 323—30.

The sources of this history are much the same as those mentioned above p. 238 in the preceding chapter ; yet unfortunately still more insufficient, partly because less is here to be found in the Jewish writers ; and partly because the coins of the Ptolemies afford no so secure guide in Chronology, in as much as no established era is followed, but only the year of the kings' reign is in each case marked upon them. On several occasions inscriptions furnish important illustrations.

By moderns the history of the Ptolemies has been almost always treated merely chronologically, but by no means in the spirit it deserves. Beside the general works, mentioned (p. 2), we cite :

Vaillant *Historia Ptolemaeorum*. Amstelod. 1701. fol.
Explanation by help of coins.

Annales des Lagides, ou Chronologie des Rois d'Egypte, successors d'Alexandre le Grand, par M. Champollion Figeac, II. voll. Paris. 1819. This work, to which a prize was awarded by the Academy of Inscriptions, does not exhaust the subject ; see the *Examen Critique de l'ouvrage de M. J. Saint Martin*. Paris. 1820.

1. Egypt under the Ptolemies became all, and perhaps more, than lay in the plan of Alexander ; not only a powerful kingdom, but also at the same time the chief seat of the commerce of the world and of the sciences. But the history of Egypt is hardly more than the history of the new capital Alexandria ; by the building of which a change in the national character was imperceptibly introduced, such as never could have been effected by vio-

lence. In the conscious feeling of its prosperity, and of the religious freedom, conceded to it, the nation sinks into a political apathy, which could hardly have been expected of the nation, which had so often raised the banner of revolt against the Persians.

Alexandria was, in its origin, a military colony ; but there was soon a concourse of nations there, such as was to be seen in no other city of the world at that time. The inhabitants were divided into three classes : Egyptians, Alexandrians, (i. e. foreigners of all kinds, who had established themselves there, of whom next to the Greeks the Jews seem to have been the most numerous ;) and the mercenary troops, in the employment of the kings. The more important Alexandria is in so many respects for history, the more must we regret, that our accounts respecting it are so unsatisfactory ! On the site of ancient Alexandria :

Bonamy description de la ville d'Alexandrie contained in *Memoires de l'Acad. d. Inscript.* Vol. IX. Compare J. L. F. Manso's letters on ancient Alexandria in his : *Vermischte Schriften* B. I.

2. Ptolemaeus I. Soter, the son of Lagus, ^{223 to 284.} received Egypt on the first division after Alexander's death. He knew the value of this possession, and, alone of the successors of Alexander, had moderation enough, not to grasp at everything. Yet chiefly by the ambition of the other princes he was involved in their quarrels, in which however he took part so cautiously, that Egypt itself ^{321.} remained in security. Twice attacked in this land, by Perdiccas, and by Antigonus and ^{307.} Demetrius, he took good advantage of his favorable situation for his defence, and during this period he added, of countries out of Africa, Phe-

nia, Judaea and Coelosyria, together with Cyprus to his possessions.

The country of Phenicia and Coelosyria was essential to Egypt as a maritime power on account of its forests. It often changed its possessors. The first conquest was made 320, soon after the defeat of Perdiccas, by Ptolemy's general, Nicanor, who takes the Syrian satrap Laomedon captive, and gains possession of all Syria and the Phenician cities, which he garrisons. But 314, it is again lost to Antigonus after his return from Upper Asia, and the siege of Tyre. When afterwards 312, Ptolemy defeats Demetrius at Gaza, he again acquires possession of these lands, but evacuates them immediately on the approach of Antigonus, who retains them by the peace 311. On closing the last great alliance against Antigonus 303, Ptolemy occupies them again, but on the false report of a victory of Antigonus retreats again to Egypt, yet leaves the city garrisoned. Therefore after the battle of Ipsus 301, he remains in possession of those lands; and they are retained by the Ptolemies, till they are wrested from them by the second attack of Antiochus Magnus 203.

Cyprus, (p. 156) like most of the other islands, remained in dependence on the power, possessing the dominion of the sea; and therefore, after the Ptolemies obtained that dominion, could not be taken from them. Ptolemy made himself master of Cyprus 313. Yet in the several cities the kings remained, of whom Nicocles of Paphos, entering into secret connections with Antigonus, met his death 310. But after the great naval battle 307, Cyprus again fell into the hands of Antigonus and Demetrius. After the battle at Ipsus 301, it at first remained in the power of Demetrius, but as he went on an expedition against Macedonia, Ptolemy found an opportunity 294, of taking it once more, and from that time it remained with Egypt.—It was by their naval power, that the Egyptian kings often played the part of masters in the countries on the coast of Asia Minor, especially

in Cilicia, Caria and Pamphylia, which seem to have wholly belonged to them under the second Ptolemy. But it is not always possible, to say exactly, what their possessions were in that quarter.

3. Within Africa Ptolemy extended his ter-
ritory by the conquest of Cyrene ; by means 321.
of which the neighboring Lybia, or the lands between Cyrene and Egypt, also came under his sway. Probably even as early as his reign a part of Ethiopia was added to the Egyptian kingdom, but no exact accounts to this effect have come down to us.

The seizure of Cyrene was occasioned by internal commotions, while Cyrene was besieged by Thimbron, a part of the exiled party of the magnates having fled to Ptolemy, who had them restored by his general Ophellas, who gained possession of Cyrene 321. A revolt, which arose 312, was quelled by Agis, the general of Ptolemy. But Ophellas himself had, as it seems, made himself as good as independent, but lost his life through the treachery of Agathocles 308, with whom he had joined in an alliance against Carthage. Upon this Cyrene was again seized by Ptolemy, and given to his step-son Magas, who governed it for fifty years.

4. We have but an imperfect knowledge of the constitution of Egypt. The division into districts or nomos continued, though it may have suffered alterations in particular parts. The royal authority seems to have been unlimited ; the foreign provinces were governed by regents, whom the kings appointed ; similar governors were probably set over the several districts of Egypt ; but of the organization of the government in Egypt almost

no account has been preserved. The high offices of state, at least in the royal residence, appear to have been filled exclusively by Macedonians or Grecians ; no Egyptian is mentioned, as having participated in them.

In Alexandria there were four magistrates of the highest dignity : the Exegetes, whose duty it was to provide for the wants of the capital ; the Supreme Judge ; the Hypomnematographus, (keepers of the archives ?)—and the superintendant of the police, whose care it was to preserve tranquillity by night. Strabo expressly says that these magistrates, whose offices continued under the Romans, had already existed under the kings ; though it cannot be proved, that they existed as early as under Ptolemaeus I.—The number of districts seems to have been increased ; perhaps the object was, to have no too powerful governors.

5. Yet it is certain, that the ancient national constitution and administration were not wholly discarded. The caste of priests remained with their religion ; and if their influence was diminished, it was not annihilated. A sort of worship was paid to the kings during their life, as well as after their death, by a particular class of priests. Memphis, though not the usual residence of the kings, still continued the capital, where the coronation took place ; and the temple of Phtha in that place was the principal temple. What an influence the Egyptian religion exercised on the Grecian ! It is hard to say, which nation adopted most from the other ?

6. Not the circumstance only, that Egypt was the first to rise out of the general ruin, but also the continuing tranquillity, which it enjoyed in its interior during the almost forty years' reign of

Ptolemy I., whilst the rest of the world was desolated by perpetual storms, must have raised it to prosperity even under a regent of inferior merit. But Ptolemy I. was exactly the man to profit by the conjuncture. A warrior, yet in a high degree cultivated, and even himself a writer, he had a taste for all the arts of peace, and promoted them with royal liberality ; and in the midst of the splendor, which surrounded the throne on occasions of public solemnity, he led himself the life of a private man.

Alexandria is increased by colonists who are conducted there ; especially Jews.—A multitude of splendid buildings is raised, especially the Serapeum.—Means are taken to promote commerce and navigation.—A double harbor on the sea and the lake Mareotis.—The Pharos is built.

7. But most of all, his love of the sciences distinguished him above his contemporaries. The establishment of the Museum was an idea, suggested by the wants of the age, and adapted to the monarchical forms, now prevalent. Where in those times of destruction and revolution could the sciences and literature have found a place of refuge, except under the shelter of a prince ? But they found more, a point of union. Thus the severe sciences could here receive their development ; and although the awakened criticism could not create a Homer and a Sophocles, yet without the Alexandrians would a Homer or a Sophocles have remained to us ?

The Museum (a learned Academy) was founded, and the first library in Bruchium (that in the Serapeum is of later origin) ; probably under the direction of Demetrius Pha-

lereus. We yet have no just estimate of the merits of the Museum. But what Academy of modern Europe has accomplished more?

284 to 8. Ptolemaeus II., Philadelphus, son of
246. the second wife of his father, Berenice, reigned jointly with his father from 286. His thirty-eight years' reign was still more tranquil than that of his father, whose spirit rested on him, except that he was no warrior. But the arts of peace, commerce and the sciences were advanced by him with the greatest zeal. Egypt became under him the first maritime power, and one of the first on land; and be it, that 'Theocritus' assertion of the 33,000 cities which obeyed him is but the assertion of a poet; yet Egypt was certainly at that time the most flourishing country in the world.

The commerce of Alexandria had three principal branches. 1. The commerce by land through Asia and Africa. 2. The commerce on the Mediterranean sea. 3. The commerce on the Arabian Gulf or Indian Sea.—The Asiatic commerce by land, especially that carried on by the Indian caravans, Alexandria was obliged to share with several other cities and countries; partly as a chief road, which it took, led over the Oxus and the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea; and partly the caravans, which came through Syria and Mesopotamia, were extended among the seaports of Phenicia and Asia Minor.—The commerce with the interior Africa, as well towards the West as the South, was very extensive. In the West it was secured to Alexandria by the close connection with Cyrene, and the roads, which it followed, remained doubtless the same as in earlier times; but much more important was the commerce to the Southern countries, or to Ethiopia, of which the interior was now penetrated; especially on account of the taking of elephants,

for which very great preparations were made.—The navigation on the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Sea had for its object the Ethiopian commerce; the Indian less.—What Ptolemy did to promote it, consisted partly in harbors (Berenice, Myos Hormos) on the Arabian Gulf, partly in a road for caravans, which led from Berenice to Coptos on the Nile, on which the wares were transported further; (for the Canal, which united the Arabian Sea and the Nile, though it perhaps may then have been completed, never was much used). The great depot was the smaller harbor of Alexandria, which was connected by a canal with the lake Mareotis, and this again by another with the Nile; and hence the account, that this harbor was the fullest and the most lively is not surprising.—The commerce on the Mediterranean was at that time divided by Alexandria with Rhodes, Corinth and Carthage. Of the manufactures, those of cotton, which in part were established in or near the temples, seem to have been the most remarkable.

J. C. D. de Schmidt *Opuscula, res maxime Aegyptiorum illustrantia*. 1765. 8vo. contain the best researches on the commerce of Alexandria.

9. It would be very important in a state like Egypt to know the system of taxes, which under Philadelphus, besides the vast contributions of corn, amounted to 14800 talents, 12 millions of dollars. In the foreign provinces, as Palestine, they were collected, to the great oppression of the inhabitants, by farming them annually to the highest bidders. In Egypt itself they seem to have been very different; but the tolls constituted an important branch.

10. The wars, which were conducted by Ptolemy II. were limited to the war with Syria, (see above, p. 243), and a war with his half-brother

Magas in Cyrene, by which the first also was occasioned. Fortunately for Egypt Ptolemy II. was a weakly prince, and his health did not permit him to lead his armies.—Under him reciprocal embassies laid the first foundation to the new relation to Rome, which was afterwards of such moment in Egyptian history.

Magas, after the overthrow of Ophellias had received Cyrene 308; his wife was Apame, the daughter of Antiochus I.; he revolted 266, and wished himself to attack Egypt, but was compelled by an insurrection in Marmarica to retreat, yet in 264, was able to induce his father-in-law to an invasion of Egypt, which however was frustrated by Philadelphus. Magas ended this contest, by an attempt to unite his daughter Berenice to the oldest son of Philadelphus. To prevent this Apame fled to her brother Antiochus II., whom, as Magas died 258, she induced to make war on Egypt, which war ended 252.—The embassy to Rome was occasioned by the victories of the Romans over Pyrrhus 273, and was returned 272 by another embassy from the part of the Romans.

11. But the simplicity, which had distinguished the private life of the father, was not inherited by the son; and the voluptuousness which soon destroyed the family of the Ptolemies, as it did that of the Seleucidae, was introduced at court in his reign, as also the destructive custom of marriages within the family, which here contributed to its degeneracy still more than with the Seleucidae.

^{277.} Philadelphus after repudiating Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, married his own sister, whose name was Arsinoe; who, as long as she lived, exercised over him the greatest influence.

although she bore him no children, but adopted his sons by his first wife.

12. Ptolemaeus III. Evergetes. Under ^{246 to} him Egypt became from a commercial, a con- ^{221.} quering state; but notwithstanding his warlike propensities he too had the taste for the arts of peace, which belonged to the Ptolemies. His conquests extended partly to Asia in the war with Seleucus II., and extended to the boundaries of Bactria; partly perhaps, (although this is doubtful), to the interior of Ethiopia, and the western coast of Arabia. The conquest of these opulent countries, which were already so well known by commerce, could not be long deferred, now that Egypt formed so powerful a kingdom; although Egypt took no further advantage of them, than to promote the security of commerce, as it passed through them.

The chief authority in the history of Ptolemy III. is the inscription on the Monument erected by him in Adule in Ethiopia, which contains a chronological list of his conquests, and of which Cosmas Indicopleustes has preserved a copy; yet modern investigations have made it probable, that it consists of two inscriptions, of which the first only relates to Ptolemy, the other to a later king of Abyssinia.—According to this inscription he inherited from his father besides Egypt: Lybia, i. e. western Africa as far as Cyrene, Coelosyria, Phenicia, Caria, Cyprus and the Cyclades.—War with Seleucus Callinicus on account of the murder of Berenice (see above, p. 243) to the ten years' truce 246—240. During this war all Syria was conquered to the Euphrates; and most of the countries on the coast of Asia Minor, from Cilicia to the Hellespont, which could not but easily be taken by a power, possessing the dominion of the sea. Whether

the conquest of the lands beyond the Euphrates, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Persia, Susiana and Media as far as Bactria, took place in these years, or not till between 240 and 230, cannot be determined. From the booty, that was carried away, it must have been rather an incursion than a conquest, although he appointed governors in Cilicia and Babylonia; and the condition of Asia at that time, when Seleucus sustained a war with his brother Antiochus Hierax, and the Parthian and Bactrian kingdom, but just established, was still weak, left few difficulties.

The southern conquests (at least if they are to be attributed to him) were made during the last period of the reign of the king in a war by itself, different from the preceding. They embrace *a.* the larger part of the present Abyssinia; (as the catalogue of nations began with Abyssinian nations, we must infer, that Nubia was already subject to Egypt); and partly and particularly the chain of mountains along the Arabian Gulf; partly the plain of Sennaar, as far as the present Darfur; partly the high mountainous chain to the South, above the sources of the Nile.—These conquests the king made in his own person; and commercial roads from the distant lands to Egypt. On the other side *b.* the western coast of Arabia from Albus Pagus to the southern extremity of Arabia Felix were taken by his naval and military commanders; and the security of the roads in this quarter was restored.

Monumentum Adulitanum, printed in Fabric. B. Gr. T. II. Montfaucon Coll. Patr. T. II. and in Chishull Antiquit. Asiaticae. The assertion, that the monument contains two different inscriptions, is copiously treated by the Englishman Salt, in his accounts of his travels, in the Travels of Lord Valentia.

13. It was a singular fortune, which Egypt enjoyed, of having had three great kings, whose reigns extended through a whole century. If a

change now ensued, it came but in the natural course of events. How could the luxury, which made its way into a city, that was the chief seat of the commerce of the world, and the place of deposit for the treasures of the richest countries, fail to subject the court to its influence?

14. Ptolemaeus IV. Philopator. A riotous ^{221 to} liver and a tyrant, he stood during the ^{204.} greater part of his reign under the guardianship of the crafty Sosibius, after whose death he fell into the hands of the still more shameful Agathocles and his sister Agathoclea. As he was the contemporary of Antiochus the Great, the danger of such a reign for Egypt seemed doubly great; but the unmerited victory at Raphia (see above, p. 244) saved from him his exposure.

15. The guardianship of his son Ptolemaeus ^{204 to} V. Epiphanes, was at first assumed by Agathocles and his sister; but after the indignant people had exercised on them a fearful justice, it was committed to the younger Sosibius and Tlepolemus. But the careless and extravagant administration of the latter soon occasioned a division with his colleague, who at least knew how to observe external decency. Yet the unlucky condition, into which the kingdom fell by the attack of the allied ^{203.} kings of Syria and Macedonia, induced the Egyptians to look to Rome, and to commit ^{202.} the guardianship to the Senate, which had thus far carefully maintained a friendly relation with Egypt.

The regency during the minority is organized by M. Lepidus 201, who entrusted the administration to Aristomenes

of Acarnania. Of what importance this step was for Egypt ever after, the sequel will show. By the war of the Romans with Philip and the disputes with Antiochus, Egypt was saved for the present from embarrassment, but it lost in 198 its Syrian possessions, although Antiochus III. promised, to give them at some future day as a dowry to his daughter Cleopatra, as the bride of the young king of Egypt; which marriage was afterwards actually solemnized.

To this period, the year 197, belongs the celebrated inscription of Rosetta, on the coronation of the king at Memphis, after his coming of age, erected by the priesthood as a monument of gratitude for benefits received; an inscription, as important for the knowledge of the ancient Egyptian letters, as of political history.

Ameillon éclaircissements sur l'inscription Grecque du monument trouvé à Rosette. Paris. 1803.

Heyne Commentatio de inscriptione Graeca ex Aegypto Londinum apportata, in Commentat. Societ. Gotting. Vol. XV.

16. The hopes, which had been excited by Ephiphanes, as he grew up, were but poorly fulfilled. His guardian Aristomenes fell as a
 184. victim of his tyranny, and his severity excited rebellions even among the patient Egyp-
 183. tians, which, however, were quieted by his counsellor and general Polycrates. His reign falls in the period, when Rome broke the power of Macedonia and Syria; and notwithstanding his near connection with Antiochus III. Rome was still able to hold him in dependence; but his extravagancies brought him to the grave in his eight and twentieth year.

181 to 145. 17. Of his two sons he is first succeeded by the elder Ptolemaeus VI. Philometor, a

boy of five years old, under the guardianship of the mother Cleopatra, who filled her office till 173 to the general satisfaction. But when the guardianship after her death came into the hands of the eunuch Eulaeus, and of Lenaeus, these latter, by their claims on Coelosyria and Phenicia, began a war with Antiochus Epiphanes, the course of which was most disastrous for Egypt, till Rome commanded peace. 172 to 168.

After Antiochus, having gained a victory at Pelusium 171, after Cyprus had been betrayed to him, made himself master of Egypt to the chief city, an insurrection broke out in the capital, by which Philometor was driven away, and his younger brother Physcon was placed on the throne 170.—The banished Philometor fell into the hands of Antiochus, who compelled him to a separate peace, on terms, very advantageous to himself; this peace however Philometor did not keep, but secretly formed an agreement with his brother, that they both should reign jointly 169. As upon this Antiochus invaded Egypt again, the two kings sought help partly of the Achaians, partly of the Romans, who by an embassy commanded Antiochus to evacuate the lands of their allies, which was done 168.

18. In the contest, which now arose between the two brothers, the younger is expelled and driven to Rome; where they were pleased to make a division of the kingdom between the two, which however the Roman senate changed as it pleased, and by which the disputes between the two are renewed and maintained, till the younger is made captive by the elder. 163. 159.

In the first division 164 Philometor received Egypt and Cyprus; and the abominable Physcon, Cyrene and Lybia. But Physcon was able by his presence in Rome, contrary

to all justice, to get Cyprus assigned to him ; which Philometor however refuses to give up ; and as Cyrene revolted against him, he ran the risk of losing every thing. In the war, which he, supported by Rome, carried on against his brother, he fell 159 into his hands ; who, however not only forgave him, but permitted him to retain Cyrene and Lybia, gave him some cities instead of Cyprus, and promised him his daughter in marriage.

19. During the last period of his reign the Syrian affairs occupied Philometor almost exclusively. He supported Alexander Balas against Demetrius, and even gave him his daughter Cleopatra. Yet he afterwards joined the side of the younger Demetrius, to whom he united his daughter, having taken her from Balas, and placed him
 145. on the throne. But in the battle, which ruined Balas, he too was mortally wounded. He was one of the better princes in the series of the Ptolemies, at least in comparison with his brother.

145 to 20. His younger brother, Ptolemaeus
 117. VIII. Physcon, (or Evergetes II.) till now king of Cyrene, a moral and physical monster, got possession of the throne of Egypt by marrying the widow and sister of his brother, Cleopatra, whose son he murdered, and whom he afterwards repudiated for her daughter, the younger Cleopatra. He therefore re-united the divided kingdom ; but whilst he purchased the consent of Rome by flatteries, he asserted his authority in Alexandria by a military despotism, which soon changed the city into a desolated place, and compelled him to invite foreign colonists by great promises. But a

second great massacre produced an insurrection in Alexandria, which compelled him to fly to Cyprus, while the Alexandrians raise the repudiated Cleopatra to the throne. But by the help of his mercenaries he again obtains possession, and preserves it till his death. 130.

That a tyrant of this sort was a friend of the sciences and himself a writer, is indeed extraordinary ; but in the method, in which he put manuscripts in requisition and in the manner in which he treated men of letters, whom he drove away by scores, the despot is not to be mistaken.

21. Of his two sons the mother, the younger Cleopatra, was compelled, at the request of the Alexandrians, to raise to the throne the elder, Ptolemaeus IX. Lathurus, who lived in a sort of exile in Cyprus, upon which she gave Cyprus to the younger, her favorite, Ptolemaeus Alexander I. But as Lathurus would not yield to her in every thing, she compelled him to exchange Egypt for Cyprus, and gave the former to her younger son. But he too was not able to bear with her tyranny, and, as she was planning to take his life, saw no other means of escape, than to anticipate her, by which he was himself compelled to become a fugitive, and, after a vain attempt to recover the throne, lost his life. Meantime the Alexandrians raised Lathurus, the elder brother, again to the throne, and he reigned till the year 81, possessing at once Egypt and Cyprus. 116 to 81. 116. 107. 89. 88.

Revolt and three years' siege of Thebes in Upper Egypt, which even at that time was one of the richest cities ; but was almost utterly ruined on its being taken ; about 86.

—Cyrenaica is entirely separated from Egypt, Ptolemaeus Physcon having left it as an independent kingdom to his illegitimate son Apion 117; and he after a peaceful reign bequeathed it in his turn to the Romans 96, who, however, do not at first interfere with its independence.

22. Lathurus left a legitimate daughter Berenice, and two illegitimate sons Ptolemaeus of Cyprus, and Ptolemaeus Auletes. Besides these, there was a genuine son of Alexander I. of the same name, who at that time was in Rome with ^{81 to} the dictator Sulla. The immediately follow-
^{66.} ing history is not without obscurities, which cannot be fully cleared up, owing to the contradictory nature of the accounts. In general, Egypt was now a ball in the hands of several powerful Romans, who considered it a financial speculation to support a pretender to the Egyptian throne, or to keep him at bay with hopes; or even thought of making the country a province. Egypt was ripe fruit, but they could not agree by whom it should be gathered.

The first successor of Lathurus in Egypt was his legitimate daughter Cleopatra Berenice 81; but in six months, Sulla, the dictator of the time sent his client Alexander II. to Egypt 80, who married Berenice, and with her ascended the throne. But at the end of nineteen days he murdered her; but, according to Appian, was about the same time himself killed by the Alexandrians on account of his tyranny. Nevertheless we still hear of a king Alexander, who reigned till 73, or according to others till 66, but, being at that time driven from Egypt, fled to Tyre, and begged at Rome for assistance, which he might soon, through Caesar's influence, have obtained, if he had not soon died at Tyre. It is said that he in a will bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, which the

senate did not assume ; but does not seem to have formally declined ; so that several attempts were made in Rome to gain possession. (Appian's account is, therefore, either false, and this was the same Alexander II., or it was another prince of the same name of the royal house.) Meantime since the death of Lathurus, the Egyptian kingdom had been rent in pieces by division, for the one of his illegitimate sons, Ptolemy, had obtained Cyprus, which was however taken from him 57, and became a Roman province ; and the other, Ptolemaeus Auletes, seems to have had authority in some part of Egypt, or in Cyrene, and was probably the cause of the expulsion of Alexander, after whose death he came to the throne, although the queen Selene in Syria, sister of Lathurus, made an effort in Rome to obtain Egypt for her sons, as the legitimate descendants. Not till 59 did he succeed by means of Caesar in being formally recognized. But the decrees of Rome respecting Cyprus excited an insurrection in Alexandria 57, in consequence of which Auletes fled and went to Rome ; (if it was not rather the intrigues of the Roman magnates, who induced him to the step, in order to reinstate him.)—The attempts of Pompey to bring this about are defeated by Cato 56. Meantime the Alexandrians placed his eldest daughter Berenice on the throne, who at first married Seleucus Cybiosactes, as the rightful heir ; but after his execution was united to Archelaus 57.—Auletes was actually restored, Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, having been bribed for the purpose, and Berenice was executed, after her husband had fallen in war 54. But the miserable prince, equally effeminate and tyrannical, died as early as 51.

J. R. Foster *Commentatio de successoribus Ptolemaei VII. in Commentationib. Soc. Gotting. Vol. III.*

23. Ptolemy endeavored by a will to secure the kingdom to his children ; intending that Ptolemaeus Dionysius who was thirteen years old and Cleopatra who was seventeen should marry

51 to
31.

each other, and naming them his successors under the guardianship of the Roman people ; and commending the two younger, Ptolemaeus Neoterus and Arsinoe to the Roman senate. Yet Egypt would not have escaped its fate twenty years longer, if the internal relations of Rome, and still more the charms and policy of Cleopatra, had not
 47 to delayed it. Whilst she by her connection
 44. with Caesar, and with Antony, retained her
 41 to kingdom and even enlarged it, the history of
 31. Egypt now becomes most intimately connected with Roman history.

Contests between Cleopatra and her brother, excited and supported by the eunuch Pothinus, who was at the head of the administration ; and these, after the expulsion of Cleopatra, who fled to Syria and enlisted troops, degenerate into a formal war, when Caesar, after conquering Pompey, pursuing him, came to Alexandria, and in the name of Rome, appeared as arbitrator between the two, but allowed himself to be won by the cunning of Cleopatra 48. A great insurrection in Alexandria ensues, and Caesar is besieged in Bruchium, the dissatisfied Pothinus taking into the city Achilles, the command of the royal forces. The hard struggle, which Caesar was here obliged to make, shows in part, how great was the long nourished bitterness of the Alexandrians against Rome ; and in part, in what degree in Egypt the revolutions in the royal residence decided on the destiny of the whole country. After Ptolemaeus Dionysius had lost his life in the war, and Caesar was victorious, the crown remained with Cleopatra 47, on the condition that she should marry her younger brother, who was still in his minority ; of whom however, so soon as he grew up and had been crowned at Memphis, she freed herself by poison 44.

24. As long as Caesar lived, Cleopatra stood under his protection, and consequently in depen-

dence on him. It was not enough, that a Roman garrison was left in the principal city, the queen, together with her brother was obliged to visit him even in Rome. But after he was put to death she embraced, not without danger for Egypt, which was threatened with an invasion by Cassius from Syria, the party of the triumvirs, and prevailed on them, after the death of her brother, to acknowledge as king her son, Ptolemaeus Caesar, whom she pretended to have had by Caesar. —But the deep passion, which soon after, on the defeat of the republican party, Antony conceived for her, chained her to his fate, under which, after various attempts to win for herself the victorious Augustus, she too met her ruin.

The chronology of the ten years, which Cleopatra passed chiefly with Antony, is not without its difficulties, and according to the most probable results must be thus arranged : Being called before his tribunal, because some of her generals were charged with having assisted Cassius, she appears before him in Tarsus in the attire of a Venus, on which he follows her to Egypt. In the year 40, Antony is induced by the Perusinian war to return to Italy, and there for political reasons marries Octavia, while Cleopatra remains in Egypt. In autumn 37 she travelled to him to Syria, where he himself prepared for a war against the Parthians, which up to that time his generals had conducted ; obtained from him as presents Phenicia (except Tyre and Sidon), together with Cyrene and Cyprus ; and in 36 returned to Alexandria, while this campaign was going on. After the campaign Antony went to Egypt again and remained at Alexandria. It was his intention from that place to attack Armenia ; but the attack was not actually made till 34, after which on the capture of the king he entered Alexandria in triumph,

and gave to Cleopatra, or the three children whom he had by her, the countries of Asia, which were in part conquered, in part to be conquered, from the Mediterranean to the Indus. When afterwards he wished in connection with the king of Media to attack the Parthians again, Cleopatra brought about a formal rupture with Octavia, who wished to bring him military supplies 33. As the war between him and Octavius now seemed unavoidable, the expedition begun against Parthia, was given up, and Cleopatra accompanied Antony to Samos 32, who now repudiated Octavia. After this Cleopatra followed him in his campaign against Octavius, which was decided by the battle of Actium 2d Sept. 31. Octavius pursuing them to Egypt, Alexandria was besieged by him, and, after Antony had taken his own life, surrendered, upon which Cleopatra, to prevent her being conducted as a captive to Rome, in like manner put herself to death.

25. Even in this last period Egypt appears as the seat of immense wealth and of boundless luxury. The miserable series of princes, who had held the throne since the third Ptolemy, seem not to have reduced its prosperous condition. But astonishing as this seems, it is easily explained, when we consider, that the political revolutions usually affected only the capital, and an almost continual peace prevailed in the country ; that it was the only great commercial country ; and that its commerce could not but necessarily increase in the same degree, as extravagance increased in Rome and the Roman empire. How strong was the re-action of the increase of Roman luxury on Egypt, is best shown by the condition of that country, as a Roman province ; for the commerce of Alexandria, far from declining in this period, (though it may have suffered in the first period after its conquest ;) afterwards increased in an extraordinary degree.

III. History of Macedonia itself and Greece from the death of Alexander to the Roman Subjugation. 323—146.

The sources of this history remain the same, as those mentioned above, p. 238. Till the battle of Ipsus 301 Diodorus is the chief authority. But the period from 301—224, during which the fragments of Diodorus, some of the biographies of Plutarch, and inaccurate accounts of Justin are the only sources, is not without chasms. From 224 Polybius must be regarded as the chief writer. Even for those periods, for which his work is not perfect, its fragments must always be first consulted. At his side stands Livy, as well as other writers of Roman history.

Of moderns, who have treated of this period, beside the works on Universal History :

The history of Greece from the accession of Alexander of Macedon till the final subjection to the Roman power, in eight books, by John Gast, D. D. London. 1782. 4to. Although not the production of a master, yet too important not to be mentioned.

1. Of the three principal kingdoms, which arose out of the monarchy of Alexander, Macedonia itself, as well in extent, (especially as Thrace continued as a separate province divided from it, till 286), as in regard to population and wealth, was by far the weakest. Yet as it was the chief country of the monarchy, it was in point of rank esteemed the first, from which in the beginning the government of the whole proceeded, at least in name. But ever since 311, after the ruin of Alexander's family, it formed an entirely distinct kingdom. Its external circle of influence was from that time limited chiefly to Greece, whose

history is therefore closely interwoven with that of Macedonia.

Condition of Greece after the death of Alexander : Thebes lay in ruins ; Corinth had a Macedonian garrison ; Sparta was humiliated by the overthrow which it had suffered from Antipater at the time of the rising against Macedonia, attempted under Agis II. 333—331. Athens, on the contrary, was in a flourishing condition, and although restricted within itself, was still by its fame and by its naval power, the first state in Greece.

2. Although on the first division of the provinces Craterus was placed as civil governor at the side of Antipater, yet the latter still retained the guidance of affairs ; and the Lamian war, which, immediately after the death of Alexander, was
 323. begun by the Greeks in the fervor of enthusiasm for the recovery of their freedom, enabled him, after he had terminated it with equal difficulty and success, to put upon Greece far heavier chains, than it before had borne.

The Lamian war (prepared by the edict of Alexander, that all the Grecian emigrants 20,000 in number, and most of them in the interests of Macedonia, might return to their native cities,) was begun by the democratic party in Athens, to which, following the impulse of Demosthenes and Hypérides, almost all the states of middle and northern Greece, except Boeotia, and most of the Peloponnesus, except Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and the Achæians, allied themselves. Not even in the Persian war had the union been so great ! To this there was added a general, like Leosthenes.—Antipater was defeated and blocked up in Lamia ; but during the siege of that city Leosthenes fell 323. Although Leonatus, who came to the rescue, in the hope of ascending the throne by marrying Cleopatra, suffered a defeat and himself was left on the field 322, the Greeks still sunk under the

force, which Craterus brought from Asia to assist Antipater. And after Antipater succeeded in dividing the alliance, and in negotiating with each individually, he had it in his power to prescribe laws. Most of the cities received Macedonian garrisons; and Athens, in addition to this, could purchase its peace, which Phocion and Demades negotiated, only by a change in its constitution, (the poorer citizens being excluded from participating in the government, and being in a great measure transplanted to Thrace,) and by promising to deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides; and Phocion now came to be at the head of the state.—The Aetolians, the last, against whom war was made, obtained a better peace, than they could have hoped for, as Antipater and Craterus hastened against Perdiccas to Asia.

3. The hatred, which even in the lifetime of Alexander had been growing up between Antipater and Olympias, because he would not let her have the sway, had induced the latter to withdraw to Cyprus; especially as the influence of the young queen Eurydice (see above p. 231) had still more embittered her. Shortly after his expedition against Perdiccas, in which his assistant Craterus lost his life, and he himself had been named regent, Antipater died; having previously passed over his own son Cassander, and appointed his friend, the aged Polysperchon his successor as regent and chief guardian. There thus arose a series of contentions between these two, in which to its misfortune the royal family became entangled, and which, terminating with the destruction of that family, procured for Cassander the dominion of Macedonia.

Cassander escapes to Antigonus, after he had not only endeavored to form a party for himself in Macedonia

and Greece, (especially as he procured the command in Athens for Nicanor, one of his friends ;) but also had drawn Antigonus and Ptolemy into his interests.—Polysperchon, to oppose him, recalls Olympias from Epirus, (who however does not venture to come without an army ;) appoints Eumenes to the command of the royal troops in Asia, (see above p. 232) and endeavors to win the Grecian states by withdrawing the Macedonian garrisons, and changing the regents who were devoted to Antipater. But these were too firmly established in most of the cities, to allow themselves to be driven away ; and even the expedition, which he made for that purpose to the Peloponnesus 318, was attended with but partial success.—The same year witnessed a double revolution at Athens, to which place Polysperchon had sent his son Alexander, under the pretence of driving away Nicanor, but in reality to gain possession of so important a city. As both seemed to unite for one object, there was first a rising of the democratic party, by which the former regents of the party of Antipater, at whose head was Phocion, were deposed, and Phocion was compelled to drink poison ; but soon after Cassander again got possession of the state ; excluded all, who were possessed of less than ten minae from the administration of the state ; and put at its head Demetrius Phalereus, who administered the government with much prudence 318—307.—Shortly after Olympias returns from Epirus with an army, and as the Macedonian troops of Philip and Eurydice passed over to her, she quieted her thirst for revenge on these, as well as on the brothers of Cassander, whom she caused to be executed 317. But Cassander, who had strengthened himself in the Peloponnesus, marched against her, and besieged her in Pydna, where, after her hope of being relieved by Polysperchon or Aeacides of Epirus, both of whom were deserted by their troops, had been disappointed, she was compelled to surrender 316, on which Cassander had her condemned by the Macedonian people, and executed.

4. Cassander, now master, and from 302 king of Macedonia, confirmed his power by marrying Thessalonice, the half-sister of Alexander, and at the same time endeavored to increase his authority in Greece as much as possible. Polysperchon and his son Alexander were still in the Peloponnesus; but the states out of it, except Aetolia, were either all allies of Cassander, or had Macedonian garrisons. When, after the unsuccessful alliance against Antigonus, in which Cassander also took part, the general pacification was effected under the conditions, that the Grecian cities should be free, and the young Alexander, on coming of age, should be raised to the Macedonian throne, Cassander got rid of him and his mother Roxane by murdering them, but was obliged himself to sustain an attack from Polysperchon, who took advantage of the indignation of the Macedonians, to bring back Hercules, the only remaining illegitimate son of Alexander. Cassander relieved himself from the difficulty only by a new crime, for he persuaded Polysperchon, on the promise of sharing the regency with him, to murder the young Hercules; yet as Polysperchon could not get possession of the promised Peloponnesus, he seems to have acquired little influence. Cassander immediately received a dangerous antagonist in Antigonus and his son, and although upon the first invasion of Demetrius in Greece he was freed by the war with Ptolemy, which broke out immediately after, the danger was but the greater on the second invasion, when he was saved by the recall of

314.

311.

308.

307.

302.

Demetrius by his father, on account of the alliance, newly formed, (see above p. 236.).

Antigonus declares loudly against Cassander on returning from Upper Asia 314, sends his general Aristodemus to the Peloponnesus, and forms a union with Polysperchon and his son Alexander, although Cassander succeeds in gaining the latter by promising him the command in the Peloponnesus. He was shortly after murdered, but his wife Cratesipolis commanded after his death with manly courage. In the meantime Cassander makes war on the Aetolians, because they were on the side of Antigonus 313; but when Antigonus 312 sent his general Ptolemy with a fleet and army to Greece, Cassander lost his supremacy there. In the peace 311 the freedom of all the Grecian cities was made a condition; but this was the very pretext for mutual and continuing acts of hostility; and when Cassander murdered the young king with his mother, he thus occasioned the attempt of Polysperchon to displace him by means of the young Hercules 310, of whom he rid himself 309 in the manner, stated above.—When Cassander upon this began to extend his power again in Greece, Demetrius Poliorcetes, in order to get the start of Ptolemy in Egypt, was sent by his father to Greece, to carry into effect the decree, liberating the Greeks 308, which had, as its consequence, the restoration of the democracy in Athens, and the banishment of Demetrius Phalereus.—From any further attack of Demetrius Cassander was liberated by the war, which broke out with Ptolemy (p. 235) and had leisure, to strengthen his power again in Greece, till 302 Demetrius for the second time, and as the commander in chief of liberated Greece, advanced to the borders of Macedonia, when he was called by his father to Asia, and in the battle of Ipsus 301 lost his possessions there. Yet, although Athens closed her ports against him, he retained his possessions in the Peloponnesus, which he endeavored to enlarge, and from whence he in 297

again put himself in possession of his cherished Athens, and forgave its ingratitude, after expelling the usurper Lachares.

5. Cassander survived the restoration of his throne by the battle of Ipsus only three years; and left his Macedonia as an inheritance to his three sons, of whom however Philip, the eldest, died soon after him. 298.

6. Yet the two others, Antipater and Alexander, soon ruined themselves. Antipater, having murdered his own mother Thessalonice, because she favored Alexander, was obliged to fly, and sought help of her father-in-law, Lysimachus of Thrace; where however he soon lost his life. But as Alexander in the meanwhile believed himself in need of foreign assistance, he addressed himself to king Pyrrhus of Epirus, and to Demetrius Poliorcetes, (who both came, only to make him pay them;) but was murdered by the latter after mutual attempts to ensnare each other, and the family of Antipater expired with him. 295.

7. The army proclaims Demetrius king of Macedonia, and with him the house of Antigonus obtains the Macedonian throne, which it finally preserved, though after various vicissitudes. His seven years' reign, in which one project gives way to another, was a constant succession of wars; and as he could never learn to support fortune, he is finally ruined by his own haughtiness. 294 to 287.

The kingdom of Demetrius consisted of Macedonia, Thessaly, and the greatest part of the Peloponnesus, and he was also master of Megara and Athens.—Thebes, which Cassander had rebuilt, was twice taken, 293 and 291; and

an unsuccessful attack was made on Thrace 292. His war with Pyrrhus 290, in whom it was thought a new Alexander arose, lost for him the affections of the Macedonians; but his great project for re-conquering the lost Asia, induced his enemies to anticipate him; and the hatred of his subjects compelled him to fly secretly to the Peloponnesus to his son Antigonus 287. His reverse of fortune induced Athens to free itself from the Macedonian garrison, and by choosing archons to restore its ancient constitution; and although Demetrius besieged the city, he was yet induced by Crates to yield. But as he persevered even under such circumstances in his project against Asia, he was obliged to surrender to Seleucus, his father-in-law 286, who gave him the bread of charity till he died 284.

8. To the vacant throne Pyrrhus of Epirus, as well as Lysimachus of Thrace, laid claim; but although Pyrrhus, with the cession of the half,
287. was first proclaimed king, yet, being a foreigner, he was not able to maintain his throne, longer than till 286, when he was supplanted by Lysimachus.

The kings of Epirus of the family of the Aeacidae were properly princes of the Molossi. see p. 152. They became masters of all Epirus and historically important after the period of the Peloponnesian war. Afterwards the kings were, Alcetas I. in 384 (who pretended to be in the sixteenth generation a descendant of Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles); Neoptolemus, father of Olympias, (by whose marriage with Philip 358 the kings of Epirus were brought into nearer connection with Macedonia), †352. Arymbas, his brother, †342. Alexander I., son of Neoptolemus, and brother-in-law of Alexander the great, wished to be a conqueror in the West, as the latter in the East, but fell in Lucania 332. Aeaides, son of Arymbas, †312. Pyrrhus II. his son, the Ajax of his age, and almost more of an adventurer than

king. After constant wars in Macedonia, Greece, Italy and Sicily, he at last fell in taking possession of Argos 272. He was succeeded by his son Alexander II., with whose successor Pyrrhus III. 219 the male line expired ; and although he was at first followed by his daughter Deidamia, the inhabitants of Epirus soon introduced a democratic government, till they 146 with Macedonia and the rest of Greece fell into the power of Rome.

9. Lysimachus succeeding to the throne, Thrace, and for a short season Asia Minor, was added to the Macedonian kingdom ; but ancient hatred^{282.} and family connections soon involved Lysimachus in a war with Seleucus Nicator, in which he lost his throne and life in the battle at Curupedion.

The eldest son of Lysimachus, the brave Agathocles, was executed at the instigation of his step-mother Arsinoë ; upon which his widow Lysandra, and her brother, Ptolemaeus Ceraunus, driven from Egypt by his step-mother Berenice, together with his powerful but now persecuted party, fled for refuge to Seleucus, and excited him to war.

10. Thus, therefore, when the victor Seleucus, as master of Asia, caused himself to be now proclaimed as king of Macedonia, that country seemed in truth destined again to become the chief land of the whole monarchy. But soon after passing into Europe Seleucus fell by the assassinating hand^{281.} of Ptolemaeus Ceraunus, who, by means of the treasures of the murdered king, and the remaining troops of Lysimachus, obtains for himself the throne ; and by new faithlessness avenged himself on his half-sister Arsinoë ; but just as he believed himself entirely safe, lost his throne and life^{279.} by the irruption of the Gauls.

The irruption of the Gauls, which threatened not only Macedonia but Greece with entire devastation, was made in three several expeditions. The first, under Cambaules (probably 280), extended no further than Thrace for want of strength. The second, in three parts, against Thrace under Ceretrius, against Paeonia under Brennus and Acichorius, and against Macedonia and Illyria under Belgus 279. By the latter Ptolemy was beaten and left on the field of battle. Upon this Meleager was named king in Macedonia, and after him Antipater, who were, however, quickly deposed on account of their inefficiency, and then Sosthenes, a Macedonian noble, received the command and for this time liberated Macedonia. But 278 the great storm came on, directed primarily against Greece, yet in opposing it Sosthenes was routed and slain. Although the Greeks unitedly exerted all their strength, Brennus and Acichorius were yet able to enter Greece on two sides, and to reach Delphi, the object of their expedition; from whence they were however obliged to withdraw, and were for the most part wasted away by want, cold and the sword. Yet a part of them made an establishment within Thrace, which was thus in a great measure lost for Macedonia; and others, the hordes of the Tectosagi, Tolistobii and Trocmi, passed over into Asia Minor, where they found and retained places of abode in the district, called from them Galatia (see p. 242). Although the Tectosagi came from the interior of Gaul, yet the mode of attacking shows, that the chief masses were composed of neighboring nations; and in fact the lands from the Danube to the Mediterranean and the Hadriatic sea, were at that time almost entirely occupied by Gauls.—On the other hand united Greece, (exclusive of the Peloponnesus,) could hardly oppose to them 20,000 men, although all its powers were exerted to the utmost.

11. On the vacant throne of the desolate Macedonia, Antigonus of Gonni, the son of Demetrius.

now placed himself, satisfying his rival Antiochus I. Soter by a treaty and a marriage. But though he defended himself successfully against the Gauls, who were making a new invasion, he was yet dispossessed by Pyrrhus, who was now re-^{274.} turned from Italy, and was now for the second time proclaimed king of Macedonia. But while Pyrrhus wished to conquer the Peloponnesus, and, after an unsuccessful attack on Sparta which^{272.} made a heroic defence, was taking possession of Argos, he lost his life.

Extraordinary as these frequent changes seem, they may yet be easily explained from the character of the wars of that time. Every thing depended on the armies ; and these consisted of mercenaries, who were ready to fight to-morrow against the person, whom they defended to-day, as soon as they hoped to find in his antagonist a braver or more successful leader. The Macedonian phalanx, in particular, since the death of Alexander, no longer depended on its leaders, but they on it. The impoverishment of the lands by wars made the trade of war almost the only profitable one ; and none now pursued it more zealously than the Gauls, who stood at the service of any one, who would pay them.

12. After the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonatas again acquired the Macedonian throne, which he, and his descendants after him, from this time uninterruptedly possessed, yet not^{266.} till after a violent contest with Alexander, the son and successor of Pyrrhus. But as soon as they were safe from foreign rivals, Greece again^{251.} became the object of the Macedonian policy, and the taking of Corinth seemed to secure its dependence. But by the establishment of the

Aetolian, and afterwards of the far more important Achaian league, the foundation was here laid for entirely new relations, which gain the highest importance even for the history of the world. After so many storms the sun of Greece was yet to go down in an evening of beauty.

The ancient union of the twelve Achaian cities (see p. 146) continued till the death of Alexander, but fell asunder in the subsequent troubled season, especially since, after the battle of Ipsus 301, Demetrius and his son Antigonus had made the Peloponnesus the chief seat of their power. Some of these cities they now occupied, in others tyrants sprung up, who commonly favored them. But 281 four of the cities broke free, and renewed their ancient league; and five years afterwards, when Antigonus, after occupying the Macedonian throne, was elsewhere employed, the others gradually followed. But this league did not become powerful, till after other states joined it. This was done first by Sicyon 251 by means of its liberator Aratus, who now becomes the soul of the alliance, and 243 adds to it the strong place Corinth, after expelling the Macedonian garrison, and Megara. The league was afterwards gradually strengthened by the accession of several Grecian states, among others Athens 229; but by that very means excited the jealousy of the rest, and, as Aratus more a statesman than general, and too little independent, joined in the beginning the party of Ptolemy II., the league became entangled in the dissensions of the larger powers, and too often was a ball in their hands. The chief regulations were: 1. The entire political equality of all the allied states, (by which it was essentially distinguished from all earlier confederations of Greece). 2. The entire preservation of the internal constitution of each city; on the other hand 3. two yearly assemblies of the deputies of all the cities at Aegium, afterwards Corinth, for transacting all business of common interest, especially in the depart-

ment of foreign affairs, and in these assemblies the Strategus, (at once general and head of the union,) and the ten demiurgi, or chief magistrates, were elected.—But what more than any thing elevated this genuine league of liberty, was, that it had in Aratus till 213, Philopoemen till 183, and Lycortas till 170, men, who knew how to breathe into it a spirit of life and hold it together, till the Roman policy weakened and overturned it.

v. Breitenbach Geschichte der Achäer und ihres Bundes. 1782.

The Aetolian league was formed about 284 in consequence of the oppressions of the Macedonian kings. The Aetolians also had a yearly assembly, Panaetolium, at Thermus, where a strategus and apocleti were chosen; who formed their national council. They also had their scribes or writers, and overseers, or Ephori; of whom the peculiar office is uncertain. Their league was enlarged, but not like the Achaian, as none but Aetolians belonged to it. The less civilized the nation continued with its piracy, the more frequently was it the instrument in the hands of foreign, especially of Roman, policy.

13. After the death of Antigonus, who attained to the age of 80 years, and who in the latter part of his life endeavored in all ways, especially by a connection with the Aetolians, to counteract the Achaians, he was followed by his son Demetrius II. He made war on the Aetolians, who ^{243 to} _{233.} were now, however, assisted by the Achaians; and especially endeavored by favoring tyrants in the several cities, to prevent the aggrandizement of the Achaians. The rest of his reign is almost a chasm in history.

The usual story, that he conquered Cyrene and Lybia, arises from confounding him with his uncle Demetrius. son

of Poliorcetes by Ptolemais, whom Plutarch calls king of Cyrene. The history of Cyrene between 258—142 lies in an almost entire obscurity. cf. Prolog. Trogi. l. XXVI. ad calcem Justinii.

^{233 to} 14. To the exclusion of his son Philip, his
^{221.} brother's son Antigonus II. Doson was raised to the throne. The concerns of Greece, where by a very remarkable political revolution in Sparta (of which we have a particular account in Plutarch's Agis and Cleomenes,) the Achaians had obtained a dangerous enemy, occupied him the most; (although the undertakings of the Romans in Illyria since 230 were more worthy of his attention;) and here the relations were so changed, that the Macedonians, from being the opposers of the Achaians, now became their allies.

In Sparta at that time the forms of the ancient constitution continued; but since the plundering of foreign countries, and especially since the transfer of the portions of land had been permitted through Epitadeus, the greatest inequality of fortune had arisen. The object of the restoration of the constitution of Lycurgus was therefore two-fold: partly by a new agrarian law and the release of debts to favor the poor; partly by enfeebling the authority of the Ephori to increase the power of the kings.—The first attempt at a reform 244 by king Agis III. was at first only half successful, and at last was entirely defeated by the other king Leonidas, and terminated in the destruction of Agis and his family 241. But when Leonidas was succeeded by his son Cleomenes 236, who victoriously frustrated 227 the plan of Aratus, to compel Sparta to join the Achaian league, he then in 226 reduced the ephori by a violent revolution, and executed the plans of Agis. At the same time he strengthened the Spartans by the admission of a number of the

Perioeci; and also restored the constitution of Lycurgus in private life. But soon after, as a revolution even in a small republic cannot be confirmed without a foreign war, he 224 attacked the Achaians, who, as they were beaten, sought assistance through Aratus of Antigonus, and received it. Upon this Cleomenes yielded to the superior power in the battle at Sellasia 222, and with difficulty escaped to Egypt; but Sparta was obliged to accept the continuance of its independence as a gift from Antigonus. Thus failed the attempt of several great men to reform a nation, already degenerated. Sparta, through the contests of the Ephori with the kings Lycurgus and his successors Machanidas, soon fell into anarchy, after which 207 a certain Nabis obtained the sole rule, and overturned the established constitution. He, who will study the history of great revolutions, may make a beginning with this small one; from none can more instruction be derived.

Plutarchi Agis et Cleomenes. The accounts are chiefly taken from the commentaries of Aratus.

15. Philip II. son of Demetrius. As a 221 to youth of sixteen years he ascended the 179. throne, possessed of many qualities, which can form a great prince, and under happy auspices. Macedonia had recovered itself in a long internal peace; and the chief object of his policy, to be at the head of Greece, appeared to be, as it were, attained by the union of Antigonus with the Achaians, and the victory at Sellasia. But Philip's age is that of the fearful aggrandizement of Rome; and the more and the earlier he resisted this, the deeper was he entangled in this entirely new series of relations; which embittered for him the remainder of his life; and finally, as his misfortunes

made him more and more of a despot, precipitated him into the grave, of grief.

221 to 16. The first five years of Philip's reign
217. were occupied with his participating in the wars of the Achaians against the Aetolians, or the social war, in which Philip, notwithstanding the treachery of his minister Apellas and his party, was able to prescribe the conditions of peace, according to which each one was to remain in possession of what he had. The accounts from Italy of Hannibal's victory at Thrasymene were part of the reasons for hastening peace, as Philip now formed greater plans at the advice of Demetrius of Pharus, who had fled before the Romans, and who now possessed unlimited influence over Philip.

The causes of the social war were the depredations of the Aetolians on the Messenians, whose part the Achaians took 221. The mistakes of Aratus occasioned an application to Philip 220, whose progress however was long hindered by the arts of the faction of Apellas, who wished to displace Aratus. The Acarnanians, Epirotæ, and Messenians, with Scerdilaidas of Illyria, (but who soon became his enemy,) were on the side of Philip and the Achaians, on the other hand the Aetolians under their general Scopas found allies in the Spartans and Elians.—The most important consequence of this war for Macedonia was, that it began again to become a naval power.—About the same time a war, in itself inconsiderable, broke out between the commercial republics Byzantium and Rhodes, (on whose side stood Prusias I. of Bithynia,) but which, as a commercial war, for it arose respecting duties imposed by the Byzantines, is in this age the only war of its kind 222. The Rhodians, at that time so powerful at sea, compelled their adversaries to yield.

17. The negotiations of Philip with Hannibal, were followed by an alliance, by which they mutually promised each other assistance for the destruction of Rome. Yet Rome was able to stir up for Philip so many enemies on the borders of his own kingdom, and so warily to profit by its naval superiority, that the execution of his plan was hindered, till he could be attacked in Greece ; where the haughty tone, which he now began to use against his allies, as he wished in the consciousness of his power to play a part in a larger sphere, made him many enemies. 214.

The hostilities of Rome against Philip were commenced, immediately as the alliance with Hannibal was made known, by stationing on the coasts of Macedonia, a squadron with troops on board, which defeats the king himself at Apollonia 214.—Rome forms an alliance with the Aetolians, to which Sparta, Elis, the kings Attalus of Pergamus, and Scerdilaidas and Pleuratus of Illyria are added 211. On the other hand the Achaïans, to whom Philopoemen more than made good the loss of Aratus by Philip 213, as well as the Acarnanians and Boeotians, remained on Philip's side. —Attacked on all sides, Philip yet drew himself out of the embarrassment successfully, and first compelled the Aetolians, deserted as they were by Rome and Attalus, to a separate peace, which was soon after 204 changed by Rome, by whose present interests the measure was required, into a general peace, which included the allies of both sides.

18. Philip wages a new war with Attalus and the Rhodians, chiefly in Asia Minor, and enters into an impolitic union with Antiochus III. for the attack of Egypt. And does Philip deserve reproach, if he sought to disarm the power which seconded the interest of the Romans ? But Rome 203 to 200.

did not leave him time to do it, and he was to learn at Chios, that his naval power was not
 202. equal even to that of the Rhodians.

200 to 197. 19. The war with Rome at once precipitated the power of Macedonia from its height, and changed almost all the relations in that quarter, as it laid the foundation for the dominion of the Romans in the East. Yet the two first years of the war abundantly show, that mere violence could not easily overturn the Macedonian throne.

198. But when T. Quintius Flaminius appeared, and, intoxicating the Greeks with the magic word
 197. liberty, deprived Philip of his allies, the battle of Cynoscephalae decided every thing. The conditions of the peace were: 1. All the Grecian states in Europe and Asia are independent, and Philip withdraws his garrisons from them. 2. He delivers up his whole fleet, and is allowed to maintain no more than 500 armed men. 3. He is not to carry on any war out of Macedonia without the previous knowledge of the Romans. 4. He pays 1000 talents by instalments, and gives up his younger son Demetrius as a hostage.

The allies of the Romans in this war were: the Aetolians, the Athenians, Rhodians, the kings of the Athamani, Dardani, and of Pergamus.—At first the Achaians were the allies of Philip, but Flaminius knew how to win them for the Romans. (See the Roman History below).

196. 20. By the public proclamation of the liberty of Greece, made soon after at the Isthmian Games by Flaminius, the supremacy over Greece was in reality transferred from Macedonia to Rome, loudly as the Greeks shouted over their

freedom ; and Grecian history, now not less than the Macedonian, becomes interwoven with the Roman. It was now a principle in Rome to nurse the disputes between the Grecian states, and especially not to allow the Achaïans to grow too powerful ; and as a Roman and an Anti-Roman party were soon formed in each of them, the game was for Rome an easy one.

Flaminius at once took care, that the Achaïans should still have an adversary in Nabis, although he could not help making war on him before his departure for Italy 194.—As early as 192 a war breaks out between Nabis and the Achaïans, which after his murder by the Aetolians 191 was followed by the addition of Sparta to the Achaïan confederacy. But about this time Greece was again made the theatre of a foreign war ; for Antiochus established himself there firmly, and many tribes, especially the Aetolians, who had long been bitter against the Romans, united with him ; which tribes, however, when Antiochus was driven from Greece 191, were compelled to expiate it dearly, and obtained a hard peace from Rome 189 only after long and vain entreaties.

21. During the war of the Romans with Antiochus, Philip, as one of the many allies of Rome, was allowed to enlarge his territory a little by encroachments on his neighbors, the Atamanians, Thracians and Thessalians, in order to keep him in good humor. But after the end of this war he felt the oppression of Rome too much ^{190.} to allow of any thought but revenge, and any object but the restoration of his power. Yet the violent manner, in which he endeavored to people the exhausted Macedonia (thus does the thirst for conquest avenge itself even on the victors !) by

transplanting the inhabitants of whole cities and districts, and the oppression of many neighbors, which was thus made unavoidable, excited the complaints of the many ; and what accuser of Philip did not now find a hearing in Rome ?—It was only his younger son Demetrius, the pupil of Rome, (and probably destined by Rome for his successor,) that delayed the fate of Macedonia.

But on his returning from an embassy to Rome, the jealousy of the elder illegitimate brother

183. Perseus degenerated into a hatred, which could only be quieted by the death of the younger.

It was not Philip's severest doom, that he as a father was compelled to judge between his sons.

181. After the execution of his favorite he had to learn his innocence. No wonder that sorrow

179. soon made him follow to the grave !

22. The same policy, which was observed by Rome against Philip, was pursued against the Achaïans, towards whom a higher tone had been used since the termination of the war against

189. Antiochus ; and the continual contests of the Greeks with one another made this course an easy

one. Yet the great Philopoemen, worthy of a better age, was able to maintain the dignity of the confederacy even in the case in which the Romans

undertook to decide as umpires. Not till

183. after he fell, was it easy for the Romans to make for themselves a party among the Achaïans, as the venal Callicrates offered himself to them for that purpose.

The disputes of the Achaïans were partly with Sparta,

partly with Messene, and had their chief origin in the existence in each of these small states of factions, of which the leaders, for the most part influenced by personal relations, especially by hatred of Philopoemen, wished to separate them from the Achaian confederacy; whilst on the other hand it now became the leading idea of the Achaians that this league should embrace the whole Peloponnesus. In the war against the Messenians 183 Philopoemen, now seventy years old, was taken by them and put to death.

Plutarchi Philopoemen. Almost entirely taken from the lost biography of Polybius.

23. Perseus, the last Macedonian king, had ^{179 to} inherited from his father Philip his perfect ^{168.} hatred of the Romans, and if not quite equal, yet not much inferior talents. He entered entirely into the views of his father, and the first seven years of his reign were only one constant effort to gather strength against Rome. To this end he called in the Bastarnians from the North, to establish them in the lands of his enemies, the Dardanians; he endeavored to form alliances with the kings of Illyria, Thrace, Syria, and Bithynia; but above all, he strove by negotiations and promises to restore the ancient influence of Macedonia over Greece.

The establishment of the Bastarnians, perhaps a German tribe, on the other side the Danube, in Thrace and Dardania, in order to make war on the Romans through them, had been a plan of Philip's, and was now only partially carried into execution under Perseus.—In Greece, the Macedonian party, which Perseus gained chiefly out of the large number of impoverished citizens, would probably have retained the upper hand in most of the states, but for the fear of Rome and the strict vigilance of the Romans. Thus

the Achaians remained, at least in appearance, on the Roman side ; the Aetolians had ruined themselves by internal factions ; so too the Acarnanians ; but the confederacy of the Boeotians was entirely broken up by Rome 171. On the other hand the Macedonian party prevailed in Epirus ; Thessaly was occupied by Perseus ; several Thracian tribes were on his side, and in king Gentius, he found an ally, who might have been very useful to him, had he not by his own unreasonable avarice, deprived himself of his assistance.

24. The actual breaking out of the war was hastened by the bitter hatred between Perseus and Eumenes, and the attempts of the latter to irritate Rome. The delaying of the happy moment for anticipating the blow, and the defensive system, admirably as it may have been planned, brought on the fall of 172 to Perseus, as it had done that of Antiochus. 168. Yet he sustained the war till the fourth year ; but the battle of Pydna decided at once his fate and that of the Macedonian kingdom.

The destiny of Perseus was a melancholy one, both till he was taken captive on Samothrace, and afterwards to his death in Rome 166.

25. According to the system of Rome at that time, the conquered Macedonia was not at first made a province, but first rendered defenceless, by being republicanized and divided into four districts, which, entirely disconnected, were obliged to pay to Rome half the tribute, that they formerly paid to the kings.

26. That the dependence of Greece, especially of the Achaian league, should increase after the fall of Perseus, lay in the nature of things. The political inquisition of the Roman commissaries not

only punished the declared supporters of Macedonia; to have acted a neutral part was enough to excite suspicion. Yet in the increasing hatred Rome did not believe itself secure, till by one blow it freed itself of all important adversaries. Above a thousand of the most distinguished Achæians were summoned for trial to Rome, and were ^{167 to} kept there without trial seventeen years. ^{150.} To the head of the league their informer Calliocrates (†150) was raised; who could now quietly listen, “when the boys in the street hooted at him as a traitor.”—Greece had now, it is true, a more tranquil period, and for very plain reasons.

27. The last fortunes, as well of Macedonia as of Greece, were decided by the policy now adopted in Rome, of changing the former dependence of nations into formal subjection. The insurrection of Andriscus in Macedonia, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, was terminated by ^{150 to} Metellus who changed Macedonia into a Ro- ^{148.} man province; and two years afterwards, on the taking of Corinth, the last gleam of Grecian liberty vanished.

The last war of the Achæians was occasioned by contests with Sparta 150, which were kept alive by Diaeus, Critolaus and Damocritus, who had returned from the Roman captivity in anger, and in these contests Rome took part, in order entirely to destroy the Achæian league. The first proposition to that effect occasioned the ill treatment of the Roman envoys at Corinth; yet as the war with Carthage and Andriscus still continued, a mild tone was used. But the party of Diaeus and Critolaus desired war; the envoys of Metellus were insulted anew, and the Achæians declared

war against Sparta and Rome. In the very same year Metellus routed them under Critolaus, who fell; but was succeeded in the command by Mummius, who overthrew Diaeus, the successor of Critolaus, took Corinth and destroyed it 146. The consequence was, that Greece, under the name of Achaia, was made a Roman province, although to a few cities, as for example to Athens, they still left a shadow of liberty.

IV. History of some smaller or more remote Kingdoms and States, which were formed out of the Macedonian Monarchy.

Sources. Besides the writers mentioned above (p. 238), Memnon, the historian of Heraclea on the Pontus (see p. 165) deserves to be named, of whose works we have extracts in Photius Cod. 224. In several divisions, as the Parthians, Justin is the chief source*; as also Ammianus Marcellinus; and the extracts from Arrian's Parthicus in Photius. Beside the writers the coins of their kings are very important; but the attempt of Vaillant shows, that even with these their chronology remains very unsettled. For Jewish history Josephus (see p. 35) is the chief writer. Of the books of the O. T. those of Ezra and Nehemiah. Also the books of the Maccabees, not always to be depended upon.

The modern writers are cited below under the respective kingdoms. Much also lies scattered in the works on ancient coins.

* As Justin did but abridge Trogus Pompeius, the question, of great importance for several chapters of ancient history, arises: To what sources Trogus had access? This question is answered in Heeren's two dissertations: *De fontibus et auctoritate Trogi Pompeii, ejusque epitomatoris Justinii*, in *Comment. Soc. Gott.* Vol. XV.

1. Besides the three chief empires, into which the monarchy of Alexander was divided, there arose out of this great mass of countries several other secondary kingdoms, one of which grew to be one of the most powerful kingdoms of the world. To this class belong 1. The kingdom of Pergamus. 2. Bithynia. 3. Paphlagonia. 4. Pontus. 5. Cappadocia. 6. Armenia Major. 7. Armenia Minor. 8. The Parthian kingdom. 9. The Bactrian kingdom. 10. The Jewish state from the time of the Maccabees.

We are acquainted with the history of these kingdoms (the Jewish state alone excepted,) chiefly only as far as they were entangled in the disputes of the larger kingdoms; of their own proper domestic history we know little or nothing. We can, therefore, give little more respecting them than a series of chronological dates, a knowledge of which is however indispensable for universal history.

2. The kingdom of Pergamus in Mysia ^{283 to 133.} arose during the war between Seleucus and Lysimachus. It prospered through the greatness of its regents, (fortunately the wisest among them ruled the longest;) and the weakness of the Seleucidae; and owed its enlargement to the Romans, who had their reasons for promoting its increase. History hardly shows an example of a secondary kingdom, of which the princes profited with greater talent of the political relations of the times. But it is their still greater praise to have advanced the arts of peace, in which they vied with the Ptolomies; industry, the sciences, architecture, and the arts of design. In this respect the little state of Pergamus outshines many great kingdoms.

Philetaerus, the governor of Lysimachus in Pergamus, makes himself independent; and keeps possession of the citadel and city Pergamus 283—263. His nephew Eumenes I. 263—241 gains a victory over Antiochus at Sardes 263, and becomes master of Aeolis and the surrounding country. His nephew Attalus I. 211—197 after his victory over the Galatians 239 is proclaimed king of Pergamus. He was one of the noblest princes, whose genius and activity embraced every thing. His wars with Achaeus made him the ally of Antiochus III. 216. The connection with Rome begins by his participating in the alliance of the Aetolians against Macedonia 211, to counteract Philip's plans of conquest. Therefore, after Philip's invasion of Asia 203, he took part in the first Macedonian war, on the side of Rome. His son, Eumenes II., was the heir of all the great qualities of his father, 197—158. The Romans rewarded his assistance against Antiochus Magnus by presenting him with almost all the lands of Antiochus in Asia Minor, (Phrygia, Mysia, Lycaonia, Lydia, Ionia, and a part of Caria,) which formed the subsequent kingdom of Pergamus; but connected with the loss of independence. He was scarcely able in the war with Perseus, to preserve to himself the favor of the senate, and with it his kingdom. His brother Attalus II. 158—138, Rome's faithful dependent, took part in almost all the disputes of Asia Minor, especially of Bithynia. His nephew, the mad Attalus III. 138—133, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, by which power it was taken after vanquishing the pretended heir Aristonicus 130, and made a province under the name of Asia.—Great inventions and establishments at Pergamus. A rich library; afterwards taken by Antony to Alexandria, as a present to Cleopatra. Museum. Invention of parchment, the chief means of preserving the works of literature.

Choiseul Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* Vol. II. 1809, contains excellent views as well of the history as of the monuments of Pergamus; as well as of all the neighboring coasts and islands.

Sevin *Recherches sur les rois de Pergame*, in the *Mem. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* Vol. XII.

The republic RHODES now had its most splendid period. After the fall of Tyre and the unsuccessful attack of Demetrius 307 to the Roman dominion in the East 300—200 ; a republic equally important for its wise policy, its naval power and its commerce. At the head of the senate there were presidents, whose term of office was half a year, who were also the moderators in the popular assemblies. Friendship with all, but alliances with none, was their principle, till Rome made them relinquish it. Thus with independence and great political activity (where were their embassies not seen ?), and decent splendor (by means of arts and science) the dignity of the state was likewise preserved unimpaired. What proofs of general sympathy did they not enjoy after the great earthquake, which overthrew the famous Colossus 227 ? Their squadrons for a long time ruled the Aegean Sea. Their commerce embrace not only the Aegean but the Black Sea, and the western Mediterranean, as far as Sicily ; a profitable carrying trade between three continents. Their revenues flowed from the duties, taken in their ports ; till ambition blinded them, so that they wished to possess a district on the continent in Peraea, which the Romans soon contrived to turn to their injury by presenting them with Lycia and Caria 190. And yet their republic outlived the Roman ! In the internal history of Rhodes universal history has sustained a great loss.

P. D. Ch. Paulsen *Commentatio exhibens Rhodi descriptionem Macedonica aetate*. Gottingae. 1818. A prize essay.

3. The other small kingdoms of Asia Minor are rather fragments of Persian, than of the Macedonian Monarchy ; for Alexander, as he took a different direction, did not formally subject them. The series of their kings is usually traced back to the Persian age ; but their rulers at that time were

properly Persian governors, who, however, for the most part of the royal family, often had the title of princes, and on the increasing decline of the empire often refused obedience. But these kingdoms do not appear as actually independent till after the time of Alexander ; and, as well in the Macedonian as in the Roman period, in connection with the Greek republics, Heraclea, Sinope, Byzantium, and others form a system of small states, which carried on many wars with each other, but were still oftener playthings in the hands of the more powerful.

1. BITHYNIA. Two kings of Bithynia are named as even of the Persian period, Dydalsus and Botyras. His son Bias 378—328 defends himself successfully against Caranus, a general of Alexander ; as well as his son Zipoetas, †281, against Lysimachus.—Nicomedes I. †246. He called the Gauls from Thrace 278, and by their assistance dispossessed his brother Zipoetas, upon which they obtained places of abode in Galatia, but for a considerable time were very formidable for Asia Minor. Zelas †about 232, defended himself successfully after a war with his half-brother Prusias I., son-in-law and ally of Philip II. of Macedonia †192.—He was the ally of the Rhodians in the commercial war against Byzantium 222 (see p. 290.) and made war on the Grecian city Heraclea in Bithynia about 196, which had an extensive territory along the sea. Prusias II. made war on Eumenes II. on the advice of Hannibal who fled for refuge to him 184, (who, when he afterwards wished to deliver him up to the Romans, put himself to death 183,) and Attalus II. 153, in which wars Rome was the umpire. He even called himself a manumitted slave of the Romans, and was dethroned by his son Nicomedes II., †92, the ally of Mithridates the Great, with whom, however, he afterwards fell out respecting the possession of Paphlagonia and Cappado-

cia. He was murdered by his son Socrates, who was yet obliged to fly ; on which Nicomedes III. came to the throne. Displaced by Mithridates, who assisted his half-brother Socrates, he was reinstated by Rome 90. But as he, at the instigation of the Romans 89, attacked Mithridates, he was beaten and driven away by him in the first Mithridatic war, which now arose, but on the peace 85 was again restored by Sulla. Dying 75, he bequeathed Bithynia to the Romans, which was in part the cause of the third Mithridatic war.

Vaillant in *Imperio Arsacidarum* Vol. II. (see below).

Sevin *Recherches sur les rois de Bithynie* in *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* Vol. XII.

2. PAPHLAGONIA. Even in the Persian age its rulers were for the most part only nominally tributary. After Alexander's death 323 it fell under the kings of Pontus, but again received kings of its own, among whom are known : Morzes, about 179, Pylaemenes I. about 131, who assisted the Romans in the war against Aristonicus of Pergamus.—Pylaemenes II. †before 121, is said to have bequeathed his kingdom to Mithridates V. of Pontus. Thus Paphlagonia was involved in the destiny of Pontus (see just below), till, after the fall of Mithridates the Great 63, it was made a province ; excepting the southern district, to which the Romans still gave some shadows of kings.

3. PONTUS. The later kings of this realm traced their descent from the family of the Achaemenidae, or the Persian house. In the Persian period they remained dependent or tributary princes, and as such we must consider Artabazes, the son of Hystaspis †480, Mithridates I., †368, and Ariobarzanes †337, who are usually named as the earliest kings of Pontus. Mithridates II. Ctistes †302 at first also submitted to Alexander, and remained after his death on the side of Antigonos, who, however, distrusting him, caused him to be murdered. His son Mithridates III. †266 (in Memnon, his name is given as Ariobarzanes,) not only succeeded after the battle of Ipsus in defending himself against

Lysimachus, but got possession of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Mithridates IV., father-in-law of Antiochus Magnus, makes war on the republic Sinope, although to no purpose. The year of his death is uncertain. Pharnaces †about 156. He conquered Sinope 183, which is now made the royal residence. The war with Eumenes, now made so powerful by Rome, and his allies is terminated 179 by a treaty, according to which Pharnaces is obliged to cede Paphlagonia. Mithridates V. †about 121. He was an ally of the Romans, and after the reduction of Aristonicus of Pergamus succeeded in getting from them Phrygia Major. Mithridates VI. Eupator, about 121—64. He bears the surname of 'great with the same right, as Peter I. in modern history, whom he resembled in many points, though not in his success. His reign, which is of the highest moment for the history of the world, is, especially before the wars with Rome, full of obscurities in the chronology.—When but twelve years old, he inherited of his father Phrygia in addition to Pontus, and claims to Paphlagonia, now vacant by the death of Pylaemenes II.—During his minority 121—112, while he escapes from the treacherous hostility of his guardians by inuring himself to evil, Rome takes from him Phrygia. He makes conquests in Colchis and on the eastern side of the Black Sea 112—110.—Beginning of the Scythian wars. Called by the Greeks in the Crimea to assist them against the Scythians, he drives them away, subjects to himself many petty Scythian princes on the continent, and moreover forms connections with the Sarmatian, and even with the Germanic nations, as far as the Danube 108—105, even at that time in the design of invading Italy from the North.—After this war he travels through Asia (Asia Minor?) about 104—103.—On his return and after the execution of his faithless sister and wife Laodice, he makes valid his claims on Paphlagonia, and divides it with Nicomedes II. 102. When the Roman senate demanded its restoration, Mithridates not only refuses it, but seizes on Galatia also,

whilst Nicomedes on the other hand puts one of his own sons, pretending that he is the son of Pylaemenes II., on the throne of Paphlagonia under the name of Pylaemenes III.—Origin of the contest with Nicomedes II. respecting Cappadocia since 101, of which Mithridates wished to take possession, after he had by means of Gordius put the king, Ariarathes VII., his brother-in-law out of the way ; but in this Nicomedes II. gets the start of him, and marries Laodice, the widow of Ariarathes.—Still Mithridates drives him out, under the pretext of keeping the kingdom for his nephew, Ariarathes VIII., whom he however puts to death but a few months after on a conference 94 ; his brother Ariarathes IX. he conquers 93, and upon this places his own son, pretending him to be the third son of Ariarathes VII., on the throne as Ariarathes X., against whom Nicomedes advances another pretended Ariarathes. But the Roman senate declares both Paphlagonia and Cappadocia free 92, yet accedes to the wishes of the Cappadocians, who elect Ariobarzanes their king, whom Sulla as *propraetor* of Cilicia instals in the same year 92.—On the other hand Mithridates unites with Tigranes, king of Armenia, to whom he gives his daughter, and causes him to expel Ariobarzanes.—He himself, after the death of Nicomedes II. 92, assists his fugitive son Socrates Chrestus in opposition to the illegitimate Nicomedes III., and takes possession of Paphlagonia. Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes are 90 reinstated by a Roman delegation, while Mithridates, to gain time against Rome, has Socrates executed. The first war with Rome 89—85 arose through the attacks of Nicomedes, at the instance of Rome ; it was conducted in Asia and Greece, and terminated by Sulla. In the peace 85 Mithridates was obliged to give up Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia.—War against the revolted Colchians and inhabitants of the Bosphorus 84.—Second war with Rome, occasioned by the Roman governor Murena, 84—81. Mithridates upon this makes his son Machares king of Bosphorus (the Crimea),

whom he afterwards 66 himself caused to be executed, and probably occasioned the migration of the Sarmatians from Asia to Europe, to maintain his conquests there, about 80. New disputes with Rome about Cappadocia, of which Tigranes makes himself master, and third war with Rome 75—64. It ended with the destruction of Mithridates, occasioned by the faithlessness of his son Pharnaces, on which Pontus became a Roman province; although the Romans afterwards gave a part of the country to princes of the royal house, (Darius, Polemo I., Polemo II.), till Nero again made it entirely a province.

Vaillant Imperium Achaemenidarum in the Imperium Arsacidarum T. II. With the aid of coins.

For the history of Mithridates the Great, which had previously been treated with too little chronological accuracy, beside De Brosses in *Hist. de la Rep. Romaine*; we have especially :

Joan. Ernst. Woltersdorf *Commentatio vitam Mithridatis M. per Annos digestam sistens; praemio ornata* ab A. Phil. Ord. Gottingae A. 1812.

4. **CAPPADOCIA.** Till the time of Alexander, it continued a Persian province, although the governor sometimes attempted revolts. The ruling family was here likewise a branch of the royal house, and of it Ariarathes I. about 354, was particularly distinguished. Alexander's contemporary was Ariarathes II., who was however displaced by Perdiccas and Eumenes 322, and fell in battle. But his son Ariarathes III., assisted by Armenia, again got possession 312. His son Ariaramnes formed a union with the Seleucidæ by marriage, for he united his son Ariarathes IV. with the daughter of Antiochus Theos. He, during his life-time, admitted as an associate in the government his son Ariarathes V. †162, who married Antiochus, the daughter of Antiochus Magnus. She was at first unfruitful and substituted two sons, one of whom, Orophernes, afterwards took the empire from the younger, genuine son Ariarathes

VI., but was again dispossessed by him 157. He fell as an ally of the Romans in the war against Aristonicus of Pergamus 131, leaving six sons ; five of whom were put to death by his ambitious widow Laodice, but the sixth, Ariarathes VII., ascended the throne. He was the husband of Laodice, the sister of Mithridates the Great, at whose instance he was murdered by Gordius, under the pretence of placing on the throne his nephew Ariarathes VIII., who was however soon deceitfully murdered by him 94, and whose brother Ariarathes IX. was beaten 93, and died of grief ; upon which Mithridates made his own son, but eight years old, king, Ariarathes X. But when Cappadocia was declared free in Rome, the Cappadocians, to escape internal dissensions, begged a king for themselves, and elected Ariobarzanes I., who was put in possession by Sulla 92, and finally succeeded by the assistance of the Romans in preserving his authority in the Mithridatic wars, but 63 resigned his kingdom to his son Ariobarzanes II., who was killed by the army of Brutus and Cassius 43, as was his brother Ariobarzanes III. by M. Antony 34. Who then appointed Archelaus king. He, having been allured to Rome by Tiberius A. D. 17., was murdered ; on which Cappadocia was made a Roman province.

5. ARMENIA was a province of the Syrian kingdom, till the victories of Rome over Antiochus Magnus 190. After that, his governors Artaxias and Zariadras broke free, and there were formed the two kingdoms of Armenia Major, and Armenia Minor (the latter on the west side of the upper Euphrates). In Armenia Major the family of Artaxias ruled for eight (some say ten) reigns, till 5 b. Chr.— Among them the only remarkable one is Tigranes I. 95—60, son-in-law and ally of Mithridates the Great, and at the same time master of Armenia Minor, Cappadocia, and Syria. But as he, in the peace of 63, was obliged to cede every thing but Armenia, Armenia became dependent on the Romans, till after 5 b. Chr. it was disputed between the

Parthians and Romans, of whom now the one, now the other would appoint a king, in order to protect their provinces. Finally 412 after Chr. it became a province of the new Persian kingdom.—In Armenia Minor the descendants of Zariadras reigned, always in dependence on Rome ; and after their retiring under Mithridates the Great, it commonly belonged to one of the neighboring kingdoms, till under Vespasian it became a Roman province.

Vaillant *Elenchus regum Armeniae majoris ; in the Hist. Imp. Arsacidarum.*

4. Besides these small kingdoms there were almost at the same time two large kingdoms formed in the interior of Asia : the Parthian and the Bactrian ; both were formerly parts of the empire of the Seleucidae, from which they broke free under Antiochus II. The Parthian kingdom, or the kingdom of the Arsacidae, 256 a. C.—226. p. C., when it came to have its full extent, embraced the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, and its history, as far as we are acquainted with it, may be divided into three periods. (See below). But on all which is not history of wars, we are so poorly informed respecting the Parthians, that the most important points can hardly be divined.

Chief points in the history and constitution of the Parthian kingdom. *a.* The Parthian kingdom had its origin, like the ancient Persian, in the conquests of a rude mountain people, of a Scythian, probably a Tartarian origin, from Middle Asia, as its language and modes of life prove ; but it did not make its conquests so rapidly as the Persians. *b.* It extended itself at the expense of the Syrian kingdom in the West, as of the Bactrian in the East, without being able for a continuance to extend its dominion beyond the

Euphrates, Indus, and Oxus. *c.* Its wars with Rome from 53 b. Ch. chiefly respecting filling the throne of Armenia, were for a long time unfortunate for the Romans. They were not conducted with success by them, till the Romans had discovered the art of forming a party within the kingdom itself, which was made easier by the unfavorable situation of the Parthian capitals, Seleucia and the neighboring Ctesiphon, where was the royal residence. *d.* The division of the kingdom was into Satrapies, of which there were eighteen ; but it likewise embraced several small kingdoms, which retained their kings, as Persis and others, only that they should be tributary. The Grecian-Macedonian colonies also, especially Seleucia, in which the money of the Parthian kings was coined, enjoyed great privileges, and their own city governments. *e.* The constitution was a monarchy with an aristocracy, (somewhat as that of the Poles in the period of the Jaghellons). At the side of the king there was a high council, (Senatus, probably the Megistanes, so called,) which could depose the king, and probably confirmed him as king before the coronation, which was a function of the commander-in-chief (Surenas). The succession was only so far established, that it was firmly secured to the house of the Arsacidæ ; the numerous pretenders to the crown, who consequently arose, created factions and domestic wars, which became doubly fatal to the kingdom, when foreigners joined in them. *f.* On the commerce of Asia the Parthian dominion exercised influence, for it interrupted the immediate intercourse of the West with the Orient ; for it was a principle with the Parthians, to suffer no foreigners to pass through their country. This disturbance of commerce, however, did not probably take place till the third period of their kingdom ; for it was a natural consequence of their many wars with Rome, and the distrust which followed from them. Hence the East Indian commerce found its way through Palmyra and Alexandria, and made those places prosper. *g.* Perhaps we are to look

in this circumstance for the cause of the absence of excessive luxury among the Parthians, compared with other ruling nations of Asia, notwithstanding their predilection for Grecian culture and literature, which was at that time extended over all the Orient.

Series of Kings. I. Syrian period, repeated wars with the Seleucidae, till 130. Arsaces I., 256—253, founder of the independence of the Parthians, by the murdering of the Syrian governor Agathocles, on account of an insult on his brother Tiridates. Arsaces II. (Tiridates I.), brother of the former †216. He gained possession of Hyrcania, about 244, confirmed the Parthian kingdom by a victory over Seleucus Callinicus 238, whom he 236 even gained as a captive. Arsaces III. (Artabanus I.) †196. Under him an unsuccessful attack is made by Antiochus III., who in the treaty 210 is obliged to renounce all claim to Parthia and Hyrcania, in return for which Arsaces assists Antiochus in his war against Bactria. Arsaces IV. (Priapatius) †about 181. Arsaces V. (Phraates I.) †about 144, conquered the Mardians on the Caspian sea. His brother Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I.) †136. He raised the Parthian kingdom, which till then had been limited, to the rank of a great empire, for after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes 164, by taking Media, Persis, Babylonia, and other countries, he extended the borders of the kingdom in the West to the Euphrates, and in the East beyond the Indus to the Hydaspes. The attack of Demetrius II. of Syria, assisted by the revolt of the vanquished nations, ended 140 with his captivity. Arsaces VII. (Phraates II.) †about 127. The attack of Antiochus Sidetes 132, was at first successful, but after Antiochus 131 was cut in pieces with his army, it liberated the Parthian kingdom forever from the attacks of the Syrian kings.

II. Period of the wars with Eastern Nomades; from 130—53. After the fall of the Bactrian kingdom, which had served as a bulwark of the Parthians to the East, great

wars arise with the Nomadic nations of Middle Asia (Scythae, Dahae, Tochari &c.) in which Arsaces VII. was slain. Arsaces VIII. (Artabanus II.) had in 124 a similar destiny. Arsaces IX. (Mithridates II.) †87. He appears by great wars to have restored tranquillity in the East ; but obtained a mighty rival in Tigranes I. of Armenia. Under him the first negotiation takes place between the Parthians and the Romans 92 with Sulla as proprætor of Cilicia. Arsaces X. (Mnaskiras) †about 76, conducted a long war for the succession with his successor, Arsaces XI. (Sinatroches) a man of seventy years, †68. Unsuccessful war with Tigranes I. By the internal wars, as well as those with Tigranes, and the formidable power of Mithridates the Great, the Parthian kingdom was very much weakened. Arsaces XII. (Phraates III.) †60, contemporary of the third Mithridatic war. Though both parties courted his assistance, and he had a difficulty with Tigranes, he yet observed an armed neutrality, and insisted, that the Euphrates should remain the boundary. Neither Lucullus, nor Pompey ventured to attack him. Yet the ruin of Mithridates and his kingdom 64 makes an epoch in Parthian history, for Romans and Parthians now became neighbors.—Arsaces XIII. (Mithridates II.) †54, was displaced by his younger brother Orodes after several wars, and after the taking of Babylonia, whither he had fled, was executed.

III. Roman period ; from 53 a. Chr. to 226 p. Chr. Period of wars with Rome. Arsaces XIV. (Orodes I.) †36. Under him the first war with Rome, on the attack of Crassus, ended with his destruction, and the annihilation of the Roman army 53. This victory gave the Parthian power such a superiority, that the Parthians in the period of the civil wars often played the master even on this side the Euphrates in Syria, which they attacked 52 & 51.—In the war between Pompey and Caesar they inclined to the side of Pompey, and thus furnished Caesar with a pretext for his Parthian expedition, which was prevented by his assassination 44 ; and in the war of the triumvirs and of Brutus

and Cassius 42, they favored the heads of the republican party. After its fall, they, at the instigation of the Roman general and envoy Labienus, and conducted by him and Pacorus (the eldest son of Arsaces), overrun all Syria and Asia Minor 40; but were driven back 39—38 by Ventidius, Antony's general, after a great effort, during which Pacorus fell, and his father died of grief for his loss. Arsaces XV. (Phraates IV.) †A. D. 4, the contemporary of Augustus. He confirms his authority by murdering his brothers and their supporters, and soon after by the failure of Antony's expedition 36, which terminated almost like that of Crassus. But his further reign was disturbed by a pretender to the crown, Tiridates, who, after his defeat 25, was received by Augustus. Phraates averted the threatened attack of Augustus by returning 20 the standards, that had been taken from Crassus, although a difficulty afterwards arose respecting the appointment to the throne of Armenia A. D. 2, for which reason Caius Caesar was sent to Asia, and ended the contest by a treaty. The subsequent fate of the king and the kingdom were chiefly influenced by Thermusa, a female slave, sent as a present by Augustus. She, to prepare the succession for her own son, induced the king to give his four sons as hostages to Rome, because he feared disturbances from them 18. (A common custom from that time, for the Parthian kings believed they could thus free themselves from dangerous rivals, of whom the Romans yet knew how to make use). But when her son had grown up, she removed the king, and placed this Phraataces, as Arsaces XVI., upon the throne; but A. D. 4 he was slain by the Parthians, who upon this first elevated a descendant of Arsaces, Orodes II. (Arsaces XVII.), but he was soon after put to death for his cruelty. They then recalled the eldest of the sons of Phraates, who had been sent to Rome, Vonónes I., and made him king, (Arsaces XVIII.), but as he brought with him Roman manners and luxury, he was expelled by Artabanus III. (Arsaces XIX. †44) a remote relation, by the

aid of the Northern nomades, A. D. 14, on which he at first gained the vacant throne of Armenia, but was soon dispossessed even there by his rival. Tiberius took advantage of the ensuing disturbances to send Germanicus to the East A. D. 17, from whence he was never to return. The remainder of the reign of Artabanus III. was very unquiet, for Tiberius took advantage of the domestic faction of the nobles, to support pretenders to the crown; and the revolts of the Satraps, too, gave evidence of the decline of the Parthian rule.—After his death a fraternal war ensued, for his second son Vardanes (Arsaces XX.) †47, who had taken Northern Media (Atropatene), kept possession; and was then succeeded by the elder brother Gotarzes (Arsaces XXI.) †50, to whom Claudius ineffectually opposed Meherdates, who had been educated as a hostage in Rome. Arsaces XXII. (Vonones II.) was in a few months followed by Arsaces XXIII. (Vologeses I.), †90. The appointment to the throne of Armenia, which he gave to his brother Tiridates, but the Romans to Tigranes, grandson of Herod the Great, occasioned a series of contests, which began under Claudius 52, and under Nero degenerated into a formal war, which on the Roman side was conducted by Corbulo with tolerable success 56—64, and ended with this, that after the death of Tigranes, Tiridates came to Rome and received the crown of Armenia as a present from Nero 65. Arsaces XXIV. (Pacorus) †107, contemporary of Domitian. We only know, that he beautified Ctesiphon. Arsaces XXV. (Cosroes) †about 121. The filling of the throne of Armenia involved him in a war with Trajan 114, in which this country, as well as Mesopotamia and Assyria, were made Roman provinces. The victorious invasion which Trajan made directly after into the interior of the Parthian kingdom 115, 116, on which he took Ctesiphon, and appointed Parthaspates king of the Parthians, seems to have been rendered more easy by the domestic disturbances and civil wars, by which the kingdom had for a long time previous been

enfeebled. Yet Hadrian 117 was obliged to give up all conquests ; the Euphrates again became the boundary, and while he made Parthaspates king of Armenia, Cosroes, who had escaped into the upper satrapies, again gains the throne, which he seems from that time to have quietly occupied. Arsaces XXVI. (Vologeses II.) †149. The good understanding with Rome continued during his reign with Antoninus Pius. Arsaces XXVII. (Vologeses III.) †191. Under him, the contemporary of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, there was war again with Rome respecting Armenia 161, conducted by L. Verus in Armenia and Syria ; his lieutenant Cassius at last 165 gets possession of Seleucia, and destroys Ctesiphon.—Arsaces XXVIII. (Ardavanus, or Vologeses IV.) †207. As in the war between Septimius Severus and Pescenninus Niger he embraced the party of the latter, after the overthrow of Niger 194 he fell into a war with Septimius Severus 197, was beaten by him, and the Parthian chief cities were surprised and plundered. It is a mistake to give him a Pacorus for his successor, as Arsaces XXIX. His successor was Arsaces XXIX. (Vologeses V.) †216. Domestic wars among his sons, nourished by Caracalla. Arsaces XXX. (Artabanus IV.). He was at first a contemporary of Caracalla, who, to get cause for a war against him, asked for his daughter in marriage, and either, in consequence of the refusal of Arsaces, made a predatory incursion into Armenia ; or according to other accounts, as Arsaces consented and was conducting her to him, hewed down the whole train of the king with blackest treachery 216. After Caracalla himself had been put to death 217, his successor Macrinus made peace with the Parthians. But when afterwards Arsaces elevated his brother Tiridates to the throne of Armenia, the Persian Artaxerxes, son of Sassan, excited an insurrection, vanquished Arsaces in three battles, and, Arsaces having fallen in the last, made an end of the house and the dynasty of the Arsacidae 226. Thus he became the founder of the second

Persian kingdom, or the empire of the Sassanides. It was not a mere change in the dynasty, but a total revolution of the constitution.

Vaillant *Imperium Arsacidarum et Achaemenidarum*. Paris. 1725. II. Voll. 4to. The first part contains the Arsacidae; the second the kings of Bithynia, Pontus and Bosphorus. It is an attempt to arrange the series of kings by the aid of coins; not without errors.

Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Arsaciden-und Sassaniden-Dynastie, nach den Berichten der Perser, Griechen, und Römer bearbeitet. A prize essay by C. F. Richter. Leipzig. 1804. A comparative investigation of the Oriental and Occidental sources. By this the dates in the preceding are fixed; yet in comparison with:

Th. Chr. Tychsen *Commentationes de Nummis Persarum et Arsacidarum*; in *Commentat. Nov. Soc. Sc. Gotting.* Vol. I. III.

5. The Bactrian kingdom arose almost at the same time with the Parthian 254; yet the mode of its origin was not only different, (for it was here the Grecian governor himself, who made himself independent, and therefore had Grecians for his successors;) but also the duration, which was much less 254—126. Solitary fragments of the history of this kingdom have hardly been preserved; which yet seems at one time to have extended to the banks of the Ganges and the borders of China.

The founder of this kingdom was Diodatus or Theodotus I. 254, as he broke from the Syrian sway in the time of Antiochus II. He seems to have been master of Sogdiana as well as Bactria. He also threatened Parthia, but after his death 243 his son and successor Theodotus II. closed a peace and alliance with Arsaces II., but was deprived of the throne by Euthydemus of Magnesia about 221. The attack of Antiochus the Great, after the termination of the

Parthian war, was directed against him, but ended in a peace, in which Euthydemus, on giving up his elephants, retained his crown, and a marriage between his son Demetrius and a daughter of Antiochus was agreed upon. Demetrius, although he was a great conqueror, appears not to have become king of Bactria, but of Northern India and Malabar, of which countries the history is now closely connected with that of Bactria, although all the accounts are but fragmentary. To the throne of Bactria Menander succeeded, who extended his conquests to Serica, as Demetrius established his dominion in India, where about this time, (perhaps as a consequence of the expedition of Antiochus III. 205,) there appear to have been several Greek states. Menander was followed about 181 by Eucratidas, under whom the Bactrian kingdom acquired the greatest extent, for after defeating the Indian king Demetrius, who had attacked him, he with the assistance of the Parthian conqueror Mithridates (Arsaces VI.) took India from Demetrius, and annexed it to the Bactrian kingdom 148. He was, however, on his return murdered by his son, who is probably the Eucratidas, who is afterwards named. He was the ally and chief adviser of the expedition of Demetrius II. of Syria against the Parthians 142, was therefore on the victorious resistance of Arsaces VI. robbed of a part of his lands, and soon after overpowered by the nomadic nations of Middle Asia, upon which the Bactrian kingdom became as such extinct, and Bactria itself with the other countries on this side the Oxus became a booty of the Parthians.

Historia regni Graecorum Bactriani, auctore Thom. Siegf. Bayer. Petropol. 1738. 4to. The few fragments are here collected and arranged with great industry.

6. The renovated Jewish State was a fragment, torn from the Macedonian Monarchy; and although it was always one of the smaller states, its history is in many respects remarkable, for few

nations have had so great an influence on the progress of human culture. The foundation of the independence of the Jews was laid subsequent to 167; but its inner constitution was in a great measure previously formed; and its history from its return out of the Babylonian exile is consequently divided into four periods: 1. Under the Persian dominion 536—323. 2. Under the Ptolemies and Seleucidae 323—167. 3. Under the Maccabees 167—39. 4. Under Herod and his family and the Romans 39 B. C.—70. A. D.

First period under the Persians. On the permission given by Cyrus a colony of Jews, from the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi, of about 42000 souls, under the guidance of Zorobabel of the ancient royal family and the high priest Joshua, returns to their country 536; but by far the larger and more wealthy part preferred to remain beyond the Euphrates, where they had been settled for fifty years, and continued to form a numerous people. But it was very difficult for the modern colony to subsist, especially on account of the controversy, which their intolerance in building the temple produced with their neighbors, and half-brothers, the Samaritans, to whom the new colony occasioned nothing but cost; and who afterwards by building a temple of their own at Garizim near Sichem, about 336, not only entirely separated from the Jews, but laid the foundation to a continuing national hatred. Hence they obtained an interdict to rebuild the city and temple under Cambyzes 529 and Smerdis 522; which was removed under Darius Hystaspis 520. It was not till Ezra 478, and Nehemiah 445 brought new colonists, that the colony gained consistency in its internal constitution. The country stood under the satraps of Syria; but on the increasing internal decline of the Persian empire the high priests gradually became the actual chiefs of the nation. Yet even in the time of Alexander's conquests, the

Jews are said to have given proof of their fidelity to the Persians 332.

Second period under the Ptolemies and Seleucidae 323—167. Palestine from its situation had on Alexander's death almost the same fate as Phenicia and Coelosyria, (see p. 256) as it was added to Syria.—Jerusalem was taken, and a great colony of Jews conducted to Alexandria by Ptolemy I. 312, from which place they extended to Cyrene, and gradually over all North Africa, as well as Ethiopia. But from 311—301 the Jews were under Antigonus. After his kingdom was broken in pieces, they remained 301—203 under the dominion of the Ptolemies. Their high priests continue, of whom Simon the Just †291 and afterwards his son Onias I. †218, who, by keeping back the tribute due to Ptolemy III., brought Judea into great danger, are the most known.—But in the second war of Antiochus the Great against Egypt 203, the Jews voluntarily submitted to him, and assisted in driving away the Egyptian troops, who, under the command of Scopas, had again got possession of the country, and the citadel of Jerusalem 198. Antiochus confirmed the Jews in all their privileges, and although the country, together with Coelosyria and Phenicia, was promised by him to Ptolemy Epiphanes as the future dowry of his daughter, it still continued to remain under Syrian sovereignty; only the revenues may for a season have been divided between the Egyptian and Syrian kings.—The high priests and self-elected ethnarchs or alabarchs stood at the head of the people; and mention is now made of a senate also, the sanhedrim. But the defeat of Antiochus M. by the Romans, was the remote cause of the subsequent misfortunes of the Jews. The want of money, which the Syrian kings felt in consequence, and the wealth of the treasure of the temple, which had been increasing from the general tax for the temple and from presents, made the office of high priest under Antiochus Epiphanes venal; and thus disputes arose in the family of the high priest, by which

Antiochus Epiphanes immediately wished to profit, in order to subject the Jews, who by their privileges constituted almost a state within the state, and this he wished to effect, by imposing on them Grecian culture. The high priest Onias III. is displaced 175, when his brother Joshua, by purchase and the introduction of Grecian manners gains the high priesthood ; but he is in his turn displaced by his younger brother Menelaus 172. During the internal war, which ensued, Antiochus Epiphanes, (just then victorious in Egypt, see p. 247) provoked by the conduct of the Jews, who revolted against his high priest Menelaus, took possession of Jerusalem 170, and the ensuing oppression of the Jews, who were to be hellenized by force, soon excites the revolt under the Maccabees.

Third period under the Maccabees 167—39. Beginning of the revolt against Antiochus IV. by the priest Matathias 167, who is at once succeeded 166—161 by his son Judas Maccabee. In several successful battles, supported by the fanaticism of his party, he defeats the generals of Antiochus, who had himself gone to Upper Asia and died there 164, and is said to have won the friendship of the Romans. Yet the object of the rising was not political independence, but religious liberty. Under Antiochus V. also, the revolt was successfully continued, as well against him as his creature, the high priest Alcimus, 163, and when, shortly after Antiochus V. had been displaced by Demetrius I., Judas also fell, he was followed by his brother Jonathan 161—143. The death of the high priest Alcimus 160 opened to him the prospect of attaining that dignity, which he succeeded in gaining, as a war had broken out between Demetrius I. and Alexander Balas 153, (see page 250), as both courted his assistance, and he joined the side of the latter. He then ceased to be the head of a party, and became the acknowledged head of the nation, which still remained tributary to the kings. This dignity, though he continued on the side of Balas, was after the fall of Balas

confirmed to him by Demetrius II. 145, to whose assistance he shortly after came on the great insurrection in Antiochia. Yet Jonathan 144 joined the side of the usurper Antiochus, the son of Balas (see p. 251) and also obtained by an embassy the friendship of the Romans 144, but was treacherously taken by Tryphon and executed 143. His brother and successor Simon 143—135 was not only confirmed in his dignity by Demetrius II. on his declaring for him against Tryphon, but was freed from tribute; received the title of a prince (ethnarca); and is said to have coined money. Antiochus Sidetes also after the captivity of Demetrius left him in possession of his privileges, as long as he needed his services against Tryphon. But after the death of the latter, he had an attack made upon him 138 by Cendebaeus, who was, however, defeated by Simon's sons. When Simon was murdered 135 by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who wished to gain the government, he was followed by his son John Hyrcanus 135—107, who was obliged again to submit to Antiochus Sidetes, but after his defeat and death by the Parthians 130, made himself entirely free. The deep decline of the Syrian kingdom and its constant domestic wars, together with the renewed connection with Rome, made it not only easy for Hyrcanus to maintain his independence, but even to enlarge his territory by conquering the Samaritans and Idumeans. But with him the series of heroes was at an end, and scarcely free from external oppression there arose domestic divisions; for the previously existing religious sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees, as Hyrcanus, offended by the former, who, as it seems, wished to separate the functions of high priest and prince, passed over to the latter 110, now became political parties, of which the former, the orthodox, preserved as usual the great mass, the latter, as reformers, gained the rich by their looser principles. The eldest son and successor of Hyrcanus, the cruel Aristobulus 107, assumed the royal name, but died 106, upon which his younger brother Alexander Jannæus follows him 106—79.

His reign was almost one continued series of petty wars with his neighbors, for he wished to play the part of a conqueror ; and as he was at the same time so improvident as to embitter the powerful Pharisees, they openly insulted him, and excited a rebellion against him 92. This led to a bloody civil war of seven years' duration, in which he, it is true, sustained himself, yet was so little able to destroy the adverse party, that when he, passing over his sons, the weak Hyrcanus, (who obtained the dignity of high priest,) and the ambitious Aristobulus, bequeathed the kingdom to his widow Alexandra, he advised her to join the side of the Pharisees ; who therefore during her reign 79—71 had the entire authority, and left her only the name. Embittered by this, Aristobulus endeavored but a short time before her death to obtain the sway, in which he succeeded, though she had named Hyrcanus her successor. But Hyrcanus, instigated by his intimate, the Idumean Antipater, (father of the family of Herod,) made war on his brother, with the assistance of an Arabian prince Aretas 65, and besieged him in Jerusalem. But the Romans became arbitrators of the strife, and Pompey, at that time all-powerful in Asia, decided in favor of Hyrcanus 64 ; and as the party of Aristobulus would not submit, he made himself master of Jerusalem ; appointed Hyrcanus high priest and king, with the imposition of a tribute, and conducted Aristobulus and his sons as captives to Rome, who, however, afterwards escaped, and occasioned great disturbances. The Jewish state, now dependent on Rome, remained so, and even in a still greater degree, for Antipater and his sons made it a firm rule to attach themselves to Rome, in order thus entirely to banish the ruling family. In 48 Antipater was appointed by Caesar, whom he had assisted in Alexandria, procurator of Judaea ; and his second son Herod who had the command in Galilee, was soon so powerful that he could bid defiance to Hyrcanus and the sanhedrim 45. He sustained himself also through all the storms, which after Caesar's violent

death 44 shook the Roman world, for he gained Antony ; although the party adverse to the foreigner was powerful ; till this party put at their head Antigonus, the other son of Aristobulus, instead of the miserable Hyrcanus, and placed him on the throne 39 with the assistance of the Parthians, who at that time were so powerful. But Herod, flying to Rome, not only found a favorable reception with the triumvirs of the time, but was even appointed by them king.

Fourth period under Herod and his family. 39 b. C.—70 A. D. Herod the Great 34—1 A. D. takes possession of Jerusalem and all Judaea 37, and confirms his authority by marrying Mariamne of the house of the Maccabees. Notwithstanding his severity towards the party of Antigonus and the family of the Maccabees, without whose extirpation Herod could never believe himself secure, tranquillity was so essential to the land, which was running wholly wild, that his government, for that reason alone, could be called a happy one. By the generosity of Augustus, whom after Antony's fall he contrived to win 31, his kingdom gradually embraced Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, and beyond the Jordan Peraea, Ituraea and Trachonitis, (or all Palestine,) with Idumaea, from which countries he collected the revenues, without being tributary. The attachment, which he in return showed to Rome, was natural policy, and all, that it led him to do, could be reckoned against him only by bigoted Jews. For the executions in his family, the family itself was more to blame than he ; only the sword unfortunately struck the innocent instead of the guilty. The last year but one of his reign is received as the year of the birth of Christ*.—In conformity to his will, with some modifications by Augustus, his kingdom was divided between his three surviving sons ; so that Archelaus, as Ethnarch, received the larger

* That is according to the usual reckoning of Dionysius Exiguus, made in the sixth century. According to the more accurate calculations made by modern chronologists, the actual year of the birth of Christ is probably to be placed four years earlier.

half, Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea; the two others, as Tetrarchs, received, Philip a part of Galilee and Trachonitis, Antipas the other part and Peraea with Ituraea; since this division the destinies of the several parts do not remain the same.—Archelaus lost his land for mal-administration as early as A. D. 6, upon which Judaea and Samaria were added as a Roman province to Syria, and stood under procurators, who were dependent on the Syrian governors. Of these procurators Pontius Pilate belongs to about 27—36, and under him the founder of our religion appeared and suffered death as a reformer of the moral world, not as a political reformer, though this was laid to his charge. On the other hand Philip governed in his tetrarchy till his death 34, upon which his land shared the fate of Judaea and Samaria. Yet in 37 it was given by Caligula to Agrippa, (a grandson of Herod by Aristobulus,) for his attachment to the house of Germanicus, with the title of king; and when Antipas requested the same and instead of it was deposed 39, Agrippa received his tetrarchy 40, and soon after 41 the former district of Archelaus, thus therefore all Palestine. But on his death 44, the whole country became a Roman province. It was added to Syria and received procurators, although his son Agrippa II. †90 obtained with the royal name Chalcis 49, and afterwards 53 the tetrarchy of Philip also. But the oppression of the procurators, especially of Gessius Florus from 64, brought the Jews to a rebellion, which ended 70 with the taking and destruction of their capital, and their temple by Titus. The previous dispersion of the Jews through the whole cultivated world was thus still more promoted, and the great extension of Christianity at the same time prepared and rendered possible. Even after the conquest Jerusalem continued not merely as a city; but was still considered by the nation as its central point; and the attempt to make of it a Roman colony, occasioned under Hadrian a formidable insurrection.

Basnages *Histoire et religion des Juifs depuis J. C. jusqu' à present, à la Haye 1716. 15 Voll. 12mo.* The two first parts only belong here ; yet the following ones contain many very valuable historical researches.

Prideaux *Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins depuis la décadence des Royaumes d'Israel et de Juda jusqu' à la mort de J. C. Amsterd. 1722. 5 Voll. 8vo.* The French translation has in its arrangement many advantages over the English original : the O. and N. Testament connected in the history of the Jews and their neighboring nations. Lond. 1714. II. Voll.

J. D. Michaelis' translation of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Maccabees, is accompanied by notes, which contain important contributions to history.

J. Remond *Versuch der Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Judenthums, von Cyrus bis auf den gänzlichen Untergang des jüdischen Staats. Leipzig. 1789.* An industrious work of a young man.

To the works cited above (p. 35, 36) for the earlier history of the Jews must be added :

J. L. Bauer *Handbuch der Geschichte der hebräischen Nation von ihrer Entstehung bis zur Zerstörung ihres Staats. Nürnberg. 1800. 2 Th. 8vo.* Thus far this is the best critical introduction not only to the history, but also to the antiquities of the nation.

In the writings of J. J. Hess which belong here, *Geschichte Moses ; Geschichte Josua ; Geschichte der Regenten von Juda 2 Th. ; Geschichte der Könige von Juda and Israel 2 Th.*, the history is treated from the theocratic point of view.

FIFTH DIVISION.

HISTORY OF THE ROMAN STATE.

Preliminary information on the Geography of Ancient Italy.

Italy forms a peninsula, which is bounded on the N. by the Alps, on the W. and S. by the Mediterranean, on the E. by the Adriatic sea. Its greatest length from N. to S. is 700 miles; greatest breadth at the foot of the Alps 370, but of the peninsula proper 150 miles. Square contents 110,900 miles. The chief mountain is the Appennine, which goes from N. to S., sometimes inclining to an eastern, sometimes to a western direction, through Middle and Lower Italy. In the earliest ages of Rome it was covered with thick forests. Chief rivers: the Padus (Po), and Athesis (Adige), which empty into the Adriatic, and the Tiberis (Tiber), which goes into the Mediterranean sea. It is one of the most fertile lands of Europe, especially in the plains; but many mountainous districts admit of little culture. As long as commerce passed chiefly on the Mediterranean, Italy seemed by its situation destined to be the chief commercial country of Europe; but it made far too little use of this advantage in antiquity.

The division is into Upper Italy, from the Alps to the small rivers Rubicon and Macra ; (which, however, in the political geography of Rome was a province, till it acquired the right of citizenship under Caesar;) Middle Italy, from the Rubicon and Macra to the Silarus and Frento ; and Lower Italy from these rivers to the southern capes.

I. Upper Italy embraces the two districts, Gallia cisalpina and Liguria.

1. Gallia cisalpina or Togata, in contra-distinction from Gallia transalpina. It bears the name of Gaul, because it was chiefly occupied by Gallic tribes. The land is one extensive plain, divided by the Po into two parts ; and hence the northern is called Gallia transpadana, (inhabited by the Taurini, Insubres, and Cenomani,) the southern Gallia cispadana, (inhabited by the Boji, Senones, and Lingones). From the N. the Duria (Doria), Ticinus (Tessino), Addua (Adda), Ollius (Oglio), Mintius (Mincio), and several smaller rivers, and from the S. the Tanarus (Tanaro), Trebia, and others empty into the Po. But the Athesis (Adige), Plavis (Piave) and a multitude of smaller mountain streams go directly into the Adriatic.

The cities in Gallia cisalpina were chiefly Roman colonies, and most of them still exist under their ancient names. To this class in Gallia transpadana especially belong Tergeste, Aquileia, Patavium (Padua), Vincentia, Verona, east of the Athesis.—On the west of this river, Mantua, Cremona, Brixia (Brescia), Mediolanum (Milan), Ticinum (Pavia) and Augusta Taurinorum (Turin).

—In Gallia cispadana : Ravenna, Bononia (Bologna), Mutina (Modena), Parma, Placentia (Piacenza). Many of these cities received from the Romans municipal rights.

2. Liguria. It had its name from the Ligures, an ancient Italian nation, and extended from the river Varus, which divided it from Gallia transalpina, to the river Macra, and in the N. to the Po, and included nearly the modern territory of Genua.—Cities : Genua, a very ancient place, Nicaea (Nice), a colony from Massilia ; and Asta (Asti).

II. Middle Italy, includes six districts ; Etruria, Latium and Campania, on the W. side, Umbria, Picenum and Samnium on the E. side.

1. Etruria, Tuscia, Tyrrhenia, was founded on the N. by the Macra which separated it from Liguria, and on the S. and E. by the Tiberis, which divided it from Latium and Umbria. The chief river Arnus (Arno). It is for the most part a mountain country, the seacoast only is a plain. It has its name from the Etrusci, a very ancient nation, probably formed by an amalgamation of several tribes, and of the oldest Grecian colonies also, to which the Etruscans are indebted for their alphabet, but not for their arts. It is said, that their wealth and their consequent love of splendor were owing to their commerce and navigation. Cities : between the Macra and Arnus : Pisae (Pisa), Pistoria (Pistoia), Florentia, Faesulae. Between the Arnus and Tiberis : Volaterrae (Volterra), Volsinii (Bolsena) on the Lacus Volsinien-sis (Lago di Bolsena), Clusium (Chiusi), Arretium

(Arrezzo), Cortona, Perusia (Perugia), which was the Lacus Thrasimenus (Lago di Perugia), Falerii (Falari), and the rich city Veii. These twelve single cities had each its chief (Lucumo). Although frequent connections existed among them, it still does not appear, that a firm and lasting bond ever united the nation.

2. Latium, properly the territory inhabited by the Latini, from the Tiberis on the N. to Cape Circeii on the S., which was therefore called Latium vetus. But afterwards they reckoned to it the territory from Circeii to the river Liris (Latium novum); so that in the N. the Tiberis, in the S. the Liris was the boundary. The Latins themselves inhabited the fruitful plains from the Tiberis to Circeii; but there lived around them several small nations, partly in the East, in the Appenines, as the Hernici, Sabini, Aequi, and Marsi; partly in the south, as the Volsci, Rutuli, and Aurunci.—Rivers: the Anio (Teverone) and Allia, which join the Tiber, and the Liris (Garigliano), which empties into the Mediterranean. Cities in Latium vetus; Roma, Tibur, Tusculum, Alba Longa, Ostia, Lavinium, Antium, Gabii, Velitrae, the chief city of the Volsci, and several smaller ones. In Latium novum: Fundi, Terracina or Anxur, Arpinum, Minturnae, Formiae.

3. Campania. The land between the Liris on the N. and the Silarus on the S. One of the most fertile plains in the world, but at the same time highly volcanic. Rivers: the Liris, Volturnus (Vultorno), Silarus (Selo). Mountain: Vesuvius. It derived its name from the nation of the Cam-

pani. Cities : the chief city Capua ; further, Linternum, Cumae, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae, Nola, Surrentum, Salernum, and others.

The three eastern countries of Middle Italy, are the following :

1. Umbria. The boundaries are in the N. the river Rubicon, in the S. the river Aesis (Gesano) which divides it from Picenum, and the Nar (Nera), which separates it from the country of the Sabines. It is for the most part a plain. The Umbri were, however, in earlier times, extended over a far larger part of Italy. Cities ; Ariminum (Rimini), Spoletium (Spoleto), Narnia (Narni) and Otriculum (Otricoli).

2. Picenum. Its boundaries are on the N. the Aesis, on the S. the Atarnūs (Pescara). The nation is called Picentes. The country is a fruitful plain. Cities : Ancona and Asculum Picenum (Ascoli).

3. Samnium, the mountain district from the river Atarnus in the N. to Frento (Fortore) in the S. Beside the chief nation, the Samnites, a rough and powerful race of mountaineers, several smaller tribes lived here, as the Marrucini and Peligni in the N., the Frentani in the E., and the Hirpini in the S. Rivers : the Sagrus and Tifernus.— Cities : Allifae, Beneventum and Caudium.

III. Lower Italy or Graecia Magna, includes four districts : Lucania and Bruttium on the W., and Apulia and Calabria on the E. side.

1. Lucania. Boundaries ; in the N. the Silarus, in the S. the Laus. For the most part a moun-

tainous country. It derived its name from the Lucani ; a branch of the Ausones, the chief nation of Lower Italy. Cities : Paestum or Posidonia, now celebrated only for its ruins, and Helia or Velia.

2. Bruttium, (now Calabria), the western promontory from the river Laus to the southern extremity of land at Rhegium. The E. limit is the river Brandanus. A mountainous district. It receives its name from the Bruttii, (a semi-barbarous branch of the Ausones), who lived in the mountains, because the coast was occupied by Grecian colonies. Cities : Consentia (Cosenza), Pandosia, Mamertum, and Petilia. (See the Grecian Colonies p. 167.)

3. Apulia. The country on the eastern coast from the river Frento to the beginning of the eastern tongue of land ; a very fruitful plain, especially adapted to pasturage. Rivers : the Aufidus (Ofanto) and Cerbalus. The district was divided into Apulia Daunia, the northern, and Apulia Peucetia, the southern part, the Aufidus making the division. Cities in Apulia Daunia : Sipontum and Leuceria ; in Apulia Peucetia : Barium, Cannae, and Venusia.

4. Calabria, or Messapia, the smaller eastern tongue of land, which ends with the cape Japygium. Cities : Brundisium (Brindisi) and Callipolis (Gallipoli). Of Tarentum and other Grecian colonies see above p. 168 and ff.

To Italy are counted the three great islands : Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. But in the Roman political geography they were not so considered,

but were provinces. Although these islands were, on the coasts, occupied by foreigners, they yet retained in the interior their ancient inhabitants, of whom the most known are the Siculi in Sicily, who were governed by their own kings, are said to have emigrated from Italy, and from whom the whole island bore its name. Of the cities on these islands, of which the more important were partly of Phenician, but chiefly of Grecian origin, see above p. 32, and p. 173 ff.

FIRST PERIOD.

From the building of Rome to the conquest of Italy, and the beginning of the wars with Carthage. 754—264 (a. u. c. 1—490.).

Sources. The most copious writer on the earliest history of Rome and Italy, and, except his hypothesis, which leads him to derive every thing in Rome from Greece, the writer who has the most pretensions to criticism, is Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Archaeologia*, of which only the first XI books to 443 are extant; to which however we must add the extracts from the following nine books L. XII—XX, discovered in Milan, and published 1816 by the Abbe Maio. In connection with him we have Livy to Lib. IV. c. 18., from which place he is our chief authority till 292. Of the biographies of Plutarch there belong to this period: Romulus, Numa, Coriolanus, Poplicola and Camillus; for the knowledge and criticism of the sources of almost greater importance than Livy and Dionysius. (See Heeren's *Dissertationes de fontibus et auctoritate vitarum Plutarchi*, in *Commentationes recentiores Soc. Scient. Gott. Comment.*

I. II. Graeci, III. IV. Romani ; and printed separately as an appendix to the editions of Plutarch by Reiske and Hutten ; Gottingae. 1821.) The sources of the earliest Roman history were of very different kinds. The traditions of the fathers were in part preserved in historic songs ; (we hear nothing of a greater epos ;) in this sense of the word there arose a poetic history ; but by no means for that reason a merely fictitious history. But the traditions of the institutions of Numa cease to have a poetical character. The art of writing in Italy was more ancient than Rome ; and it therefore remains uncertain, how far back the public annals went, as well as the *libri pontificum* &c. Many accounts belong obviously to family history, be it that they were preserved by oral tradition or in writing. To these must be added the monuments, as well buildings and works of art, as treaties engraved on tables ; of which however too little use seems to have been made. The art of writing came to the Romans from the Greeks ; and Roman history was as early and perhaps as often written in Greek, as in the Roman tongue, and not merely by Greeks, as first by Diocles of Peparethus, but by Romans, as by Fabius Pictor. From these latter sources Dionysius and Livy drew their accounts. Their earliest history, therefore, rests in part on traditions and poetry ; which are spun out still more by the rhetorical manner of writing history, especially of the Greeks ; but it did not rest exclusively on them. It is not easy generally to fix the period, at which Roman history entirely lays aside the poetic character ; even after the expulsion of the kings to the Gallic conquest there are several parts which bear marks of it.—For chronology the *fasti Romani*, preserved partly in inscriptions, (*fasti Capitolini*), partly in manuscripts, are of importance. They are collected and completed by Pighius, Noris, Sigonius, and others in *Graevii Thes. A. R.* Vol. XI. as well as in *Almeloveen fast. Rom.* I. II. Amstel. 1705 &c.

Pichii Annales Romanorum. Antwerp. 1615. fol. 2 Voll. An attempt at a chronological arrangement. It goes to Vitellius.

By moderns Roman history has been often and very copiously treated. We mention only the more important.

Rollin Histoire Romaine, depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu' à la bataille d'Actium. (goes to 89 b. Chr.) continued and terminated by Crevier. Though the historical critic finds much that is to be questioned, yet this work was the first to raise the study.

The 4th Part of the Universal History of Guthrie and Gray with Heyne's corrections.

The history of the progress and termination of the Roman Republic, by Adam Ferguson, in 3 Vols. On the whole this is the best work on the history of the Roman republic.

Histoire critique de la Republique Romaine par P. Ch. Levesque. 3 Voll. Paris. 1807. He, who is still bent on blindly admiring the fame of ancient Rome, must not read this work.

[The Roman history, from the building of Rome to the ruin of the Commonwealth; by N. Hooke.]

Römische Geschichte von B. G. Niebuhr. Erster Theil 1811. Zweiter Theil 1812., goes to 417 a. u. c. Almost more of criticism than history; with a constant effort, to overturn what had been received. Acuteness is not always a perception of truth; and it is not so easy to believe in a constitution, which is not only against the prevailing view of antiquity itself, (inferences from single passages do not at once overturn, what all the rest assert;) but is also (according to the author's own confession II. p. 5) contrary to all analogy in history. But truth gains, even where criticism is mistaken, and the value of several profound investigations is not on that account to be mistaken.—For examination:

Die ältere Geschichte des Römischen Staats, untersucht von W. Wachsmuth. Halle. 1819.

Commentatio de fontibus Titi Livii in prima historiarum Decade, auctore C. F. Th. Lachmann. Gottingae. 1821. A prize essay.

The works on the Roman constitution will be cited below at the end of this and the beginning of the third period.

A multitude of the most important writings on the Roman antiquities are to be found in the great collection :

Graevii Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum. Lugd. Bat. 1694 sq. XII. Voll. fol. and in

Salengre Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum. Venet. 1732. 3 Voll. fol.

Many excellent dissertations in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*.

For the knowledge of the localities of ancient Rome, beside *Nardini Roma Vetus* in *Graevii Thes. A. R. T. IV.* the best work is still :

Venuti descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma ; especially in the latest edition by Visconti. 1803.

The best views of the monuments of ancient Rome are given in :

Piranesi antichità di Roma. III. Voll. fol.

1. The history of Rome is but the history of a city, in as much as this city, till the period of the emperors, was always the mistress of its wide domain. The internal constitution of this city was, however, in its leading features, formed in this first period ; and considered in this point of view, the interest, which it may claim, is not to be lightly esteemed. Whether each of the fundamental institutions of Rome had its origin precisely in the moment to which it is assigned, is a nearly indifferent question ; but they certainly had their origin in this period of time ; and the course, in which the developement of the constitution pro-

ceeded, is on the whole without doubt correctly delineated.

2. However much the earliest traditions of the Romans respecting their origin were adorned, all agree, that the Romans belonged to the people of the Latini, and that their city was a colony from the neighboring Alba longa; although they were very early joined by Sabines; and much was adopted from the Etruscans. It seems to have long been a custom of the Latini to advance the culture of their land by establishing colonies.

The earliest history of Rome can as little as that of Athens, or of any other city of antiquity, be reduced to strict historic truth; for it in a great measure depends upon traditions, which were treated by poets and rhetoricians, who again differ very much from one another; as is plain from Plutarch's *Romulus*. But as a knowledge of it, such as it lies before us in Dionysius and Livy, has such intimate relation to many other things, it cannot be passed over in silence; and that it contains with fictions truths also, is most manifestly proved by the political institutions, of which they narrated the origin, and which certainly extend far backwards to these times. To wish to draw an exact dividing line between the fabulous and historic age, is but to mistake the very nature of mythology.

L. de Beaufort sur l'incertitude de cinq premiers siècles de l'histoire Romaine, nouv. ed. à la Hague. 1750. 2 Voll. 8vo. All that can be said against the credibility of the earliest Roman history, has been set forth by Beaufort with much, often affected, acuteness.

3. In the first 245 years from its origin this city stood under chiefs, who were called kings; but the office was neither hereditary, nor unlimited, although they endeavored to make it both the one

and the other. A municipal constitution was formed, which shows a considerable degree of political culture; but which, in its principal parts,—as in every colony,—was probably a copy of the constitution of the mother city. The chief points in it are: *a.* Origin and organization of the senate. *b.* Origin and progress of the patriciate or hereditary nobility of families, which, supported by the administration of the sacra, and the names of families, that had been introduced, soon formed in opposition to the Plebeians a political party, (of course no proper caste of priests,) which was constantly increasing in power. *c.* The organization of the people (*populus*), and the kinds of popular assemblies (*comitia*), founded upon it; for beside the original division by polls into *tribus* and *curiae*, there was afterwards a division according to property into classes and *centuriae*; which gave occasion to the very artfully arranged *comitia centuriata* in addition to the older *comitia curiata*. *d.* The religious institutions (*religiones*), which in the closest connection with the political constitution formed a religion of the state, by which every thing in the state was bound to fixed forms, and received a higher sanction. And *e.* the relations of private life, established by law, the relations of the client, of marriage, and especially of parental authority. By these strict domestic relations, this nation was from the earliest times inspired with a spirit of subordination and of order, which was the remote cause of its subsequent greatness.

4. Notwithstanding many petty wars with its nearest neighbors, the Sabines, Aequi, Volsci.

several cities of the Etruscans and even the Latins, Rome enlarged its territory but little. Yet it made its first advances to its enlargement, when after the destruction of Alba longa, it endeavored to become the head of all the cities of the Latini, and actually became so.

Series of kings. Romulus 754—717.—First organization of the colony and increase of the number of citizens by the establishment of an asylum and the union with a part of the Sabines. Numa Pompilius †679. By describing him as the founder of the religion of the Roman state, that religion acquired its higher sanction from its antiquity. Tullus Hostilius †640. By the conquest and destruction of Alba the foundation was laid for Rome's dominion over Latium. Ancus Martius †618. He extended the territory of Rome to the sea, and the building of the haven Ostia shows, that Rome at that early period had navigation, though piracy perhaps more than commerce was its object. Tarquinius Priscus †578. Of Grecian descent. Rome under him was now able to bear up against even the united Etruscans. Servius Tullius †534. The most remarkable in the series of Roman kings. He placed Rome at the head of the confederacy of the Latini, and confirmed it by *communia sacra*. The most important institutions, the Census, and the *Comitia centuriata* were built upon his new division of the people according to property. The want of this division proves the rapid advancement of the Roman class of citizens; but with the division itself the frame of a republic was complete. Tarquinius Superbus (the tyrant)—509.—Gaining possession of the government by force as the grandson of Priscus, he endeavored to gain strength by a closer union with the Latini and Volsci; but by this means and by his tyranny offended alike the commons and the patricians. Yet his expulsion, and the consequent revolution in the constitu-

tion are properly to be ascribed to the ambition of the Patricians.

Algarotti saggio sopra la durata de' regni de' re di Roma (Op. T. III.). Chronological doubts. Is the creating of difficulties the highest exercise of critical skill?

5. The abolition of the royal power was immediately attended by no other change in the internal constitution of Rome, than the transfer of this power, quite as indefinite as it had been held by the kings, to two annually elected consuls.

Still the contest, which the new republic had to maintain for its liberty with the Etruscans and Latins, contributed to vivify the republican spirit,

(whilst the evils of the popular government were obviated by the establishment of the dictatorship in times of pressing difficulty;) which from this time remains the chief trait in the Roman character. But the helm of government was exclusively seized upon by the party, which had expelled the ruling family, and the oppression of these aristocrats, especially towards their debtors,

who had become their bondslaves (*nexi*) was, notwithstanding Valerius Poplicola had secured to the people the highest judicial power (*lex*

de provocatione), so severe, that in a few years an insurrection of the commons (*plebis*) broke out, which was followed by the appointment of annually elected chiefs of the people (*tribuni plebis*).

First commercial treaty with Carthage 508, in which Rome appears as a free state, but not yet as the mistress even of all Latium; the most important monument for the credibility of the earlier Roman history.

Heyne *foedera Carthaginiensium cum Romanis super*

navigazione et mercatura facta ; in *Opusc. T. III.* cf. Heeren's *Ideen &c.* Appendix to Vol. 2.

6. The further developement of the Roman constitution in this period turns almost entirely on the contest, which the new chiefs of the commons conducted against the hereditary nobility, for, not content with protecting against oppression, they soon proceeded to measures of attack, and in a short time extended the object so far, that short of a perfect equality of rights no termination of the contest was to be expected. It was, therefore, necessarily a long one, since the aristocracy of the time had too firm supporters in the *clientela* and by means of the auspices in the religion of the state.

Chief points in the contest : 1. The tribunes, on the trial of *Coriolanus*, usurp the right of summoning individual patricians before the tribunal of the people.—This gave rise to the *comitia tributa*, (either mere assemblies of the class of citizens, or at least so organized, that that class had the preponderance) ; which, by providing the tribunes with an opportunity of making propositions to the commonalty, obtained for them that share in the legislation, which afterwards came to be of such importance. 2. The more equitable division among the poorer class of people of the lands, taken from the neighboring nations ; (earliest *leges agrariae*,) occasioned by the ambitious designs of *Cassius* 486. 3. Enlarged extent of the *comitia tributa*, especially for the choice of tribunes, by *Volero* 472. 4. Attempts to limit the consular authority by law, by *Terentillus* (*lex Terentilla*,) 460 ; which after a long strife, finally led to the idea of a general written code 452, which was actually brought about, notwithstanding this was at first opposed by the Patricians.

Kampf der Demokratie und Aristocratie in Rom, oder Geschichte der Römer von der Vertreibung des Tarquin bis

zur Erwählung des ersten Plebejischen Consuls, von Chr. F. Schulze. Altenburg. 1802. 8vo. The most accurate investigation of this part of Roman history.

449. 7. The code of the twelve tables in part confirmed ancient prescription, but was in part perfected by the laws of Grecian republics, among which Athens is particularly named, which were sent for and consulted. But a double error was committed; for not only were the commissaries for preparing the laws chosen exclusively from the patricians, but these commissaries were made the sole magistrates with dictatorial power (*sine provocatione*), and the way was thus prepared for an usurpation, which it required a popular insurrection to overthrow.

298. The power of the Decemvirs continued 451—447. The doubts, raised respecting the embassy to Athens, are by no means sufficient to shake confidence in a fact so positively related. Athens was then under Pericles at the head of Greece; and if Grecian laws were at all to be consulted, Athens could not be overlooked. And why could not a state, which fifty years before had closed a treaty of commerce with Carthage, and could not be unacquainted with the Grecian colonies in Lower Italy, send an embassy to Greece?

The fragments, still extant, of the code of the twelve tables may be found collected and explained in *Bachii Hist. Jurisprudentiae Romanae*; and in several other works.

8. By the laws of the twelve tables the juridical relations of the citizens were fixed upon equal terms for all, but as they seem in general to have contained but very little, which related strictly to the constitution of the state, the administration remained not only as before in the hands of the

aristocrats, who filled all offices, but by the interdict of marriages between the patricians and plebeians in the new laws, the wall of partition seemed raised between the two forever. No wonder then, that the chiefs of the commonalty, whose authority had been not only renewed, but increased, and was limited only by the necessity of unanimity, since each one had the right to intercede, immediately re-commenced their attacks on the patricians.

Besides the other laws, which, on the renewal of the *tribunia potestas* 446, were passed in its favor, the law, afterwards so often repeated, *ut quod tributum plebes jussisset, populum teneret*, (by which in the language of modern revolutions the class of citizens constituted itself), would seem alone to make it all-powerful; if the Roman history, like that of other free states, did not furnish examples enough, how little we can infer from the passing of a law respecting its practical application.

9. The chief points of the new contest, excited by the tribune Canuleius, between the patricians and the commons, now became the law on the *connubia patrum cum plebe*, and on the 445. exclusive possession of the consulship by the patricians, of which laws the tribunes demanded the abolition. The repeal of the first law they obtained even in 445 (*lex Canuleia*); but the right of eligibility to the consulship was acquired only after an eighty years' dispute, almost annually renewed; during which time, if the tribunes, as was usual, forbade the military enrollments, they used the expedient of investing with the consular power the annually elected commanders in the legions,

to which offices plebeians, too, were eligible ; (tribuni militum consulari potestate).—Establish-

443. ment of the office of censors, who were at first considered only as persons, invested with full powers for discharging the mechanical duties of the census ; but whose office, after they assumed the *censura morum*, belonged to the most important in the state.

10. While in the mean time Rome, as the head of the neighboring allied cities (*socii*), both of the

497. Latini, especially since the victory on the lake Regillus, and of the other nations, oppressed them, or at least they thought themselves oppressed, their continual exertions to free themselves at every opportunity gave rise to an almost uninterrupted succession of petty wars, which must have depopulated Rome, had not this been prevented by the maxims adopted of increasing the number of citizens by freed men, and frequently even by the conquered. Little remarkable as these feuds are singly, they are very much so from having been the cause of making the nation a nation of warriors, and of establishing that supremacy of the Senate, the important consequences of which will be hereafter exhibited.

Among these wars we must mention the last war against Veii, the most opulent city of Etruria, because the siege of it, which continued for almost ten years 404—395, led to winter campaigns and to the introduction of pay among the Roman soldiery, which first rendered it possible to carry on longer and more remote wars ; and again, on the other hand, higher taxes (*tributa*) were a necessary result of this plan.

11. Rome, nevertheless was soon after almost entirely swept away, by a storm from the North. The Sennonian Gauls, penetrating as far as Etruria from Northern Italy, made them-^{389.}selves masters of the city, except the citadel only, and reduced it to ashes; an occurrence, which impressed itself so deeply on the memory of the Romans, that few others in their history have been more spun out by tradition. Camillus, then the preserver of Rome, and in general one of the chief heroes of the time, performed a double service to his paternal city, for he frustrated, after the victory, the project of an entire migration to Veii.

12. After the rebuilding of Rome, the ancient contests soon revived in it. These were occasioned by the tributes, increased since the introduction of pay, and by the impoverishment of the citizens, which was the result of the high rate of interest. The tribunes, Sextius and Licinius, who first confirmed their power by a tribuneship of five years' duration, and Licinius, who by an agrarian law, that no individual should possess more than five hundred acres of the public land, gained the favor of the people, finally succeeded in establishing the principle, that one of the consuls might be chosen from the commons; and although the nobility sought an equivalent for the sacrifice, which they were obliged to make, by the^{366.} appointment of a praetor out of their means and of the Aediles Curules, yet the participation of the plebeians in the other magistracies (the dictatorship 353, the censorship 348, and the praetorship 334,) as well as in the priesthood 300, could

not fail to follow of itself in a short time, since they had made good their claims to the first. Thus the desired aim, the political equality of the commons and the hereditary nobility, was attained in Rome; and although the distinction between patrician and plebeian families was still preserved, they necessarily ceased in a short time to be political parties.

A second commercial treaty, made with Carthage in 345, proves, that even at this time the navigation of the Romans was very far from being inconsiderable, although it was still mostly piratical. Roman squadrons are however frequently heard of in the next forty years.

13. Far more important than the preceding wars, were those which now began with the Samnites. As Rome in the former had aimed principally at attaining a supremacy over its immediate neighbors, these, on the contrary, by a contest of fifty years, opened to it the avenue to the subjugation of Italy, and laid thereby the first main foundation of its future power.

Beginning of the wars against the Samnites, when the Campani asked the aid of the Romans against them in 343. They were waged with various fortune and violent exertion, ceasing only to begin again, till 290. This is the true heroic age of Rome, over which the names of a Decius Mus (father and son, both offering themselves voluntary sacrifices), of a Papirius Cursor, Q. Fabius Maximus, and others, diffuse a lustre. For Rome, the consequences with which they were attended, are these: *a.* By them, the Romans first became acquainted with mountain warfare, and thence a peculiar system of tactics; not indeed, without, in 321, passing under the furcas Caudinas. *b.* Their relations with their neighbors, the Latini and Etrusci, were more

firmly defined by the complete conquest of the former 340, and repeated victories over the latter, especially in 308. *c.* Particularly in the last period of the Samnite wars, when great popular alliances arose in Italy, they came into connexion with the remoter nations of the country, with the Lucani and Apuli by the first treaty 323, with the Umbri since 308; although these relations frequently changed, these nations always striving after independence, and just so often becoming enemies. But still in this period, the leading ideas on the political relations, in which they placed the conquered nations towards themselves, were practically formed.

14. But the attempts of Rome, after the subjugation of the Samnites, to strengthen its power in Southern Italy, gave rise to a war with a foreign prince; the Tarentines, too weak to protect themselves against Rome, inviting the assistance of Pyrrhus of Epirus. He came, not for their sake, but for his own; but even his victories taught him that the Macedonian art of war gave him but a weak superiority, which the Romans were soon able to turn to their own side; as a good army of citizen soldiers is always victorious over enlisted troops.

The idea of inviting Pyrrhus to their assistance was the more natural, since his predecessor Alexander I. (see above page 282) had endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to play the part of a conqueror in Southern Italy. In the first war with Pyrrhus, 280—278 two battles were fought, the one at Pandosia 280, the other at Asculum 279, both unfortunate for Rome. But when Pyrrhus, after his passage to Sicily 278, (see above page 178) returned again to Italy 275, he was vanquished by the Romans at Beneventum and compelled to withdraw from Italy, leaving a garrison in Ta-

rentum. But already in 272 the Romans gained possession of this city, by which their dominion was extended to the extremity of Southern Italy.

15. The principal means, which the Romans used from early times to strengthen their authority over the conquered nations, and at the same time to prevent an excessive increase of the needy populace in Rome, was the establishment of colonies of Roman citizens, who were settled in the conquered cities, and at the same time served as garrisons. Each colony possessed its own internal constitution, which was generally modelled after that of Rome itself; and the maintenance of the strict dependence of the colonies was therefore the natural policy of Rome. This Roman colonial system, which necessarily sprung from their barbarous manners, of depriving the vanquished of their lands and freedom, was brought to the greatest perfection in the Samnite wars, and gradually embraced all Italy. In close connection with it, stood the building of the great military roads (*viae militares*), of which the Appian was made in 312, and still remains a lasting monument of the greatness of Rome at that period.

The number of Roman colonies in Italy amounted even at the time of Hannibal's invasion to 53. But many of those that were founded, were afterwards abandoned.

Heyne de Romanorum prudentia in coloniis regendis; in Opusc. Vol. III. cf. Prolusiones de veterum coloniarum jure ejusque causis in Opusc. Vol. I.

16. But the relations of Rome to the nations of Italy, remained very various. 1. Some cities and nations enjoyed the full privileges of Roman citi-

zanship; in part, however, without a voice in the comitia, (Municipia). 2. More strict was the relation of the colonies, (jus coloniarum), since the colonists possessed indeed their city constitution, but had no farther participation, either in the comitia, or the magistracies in Rome. The rest of the inhabitants of Italy were, either allies (Socii, foedere juncti), or subjects, (Dedititii). The first retained *a.* their internal constitution; but were obliged *b.* to give tribute and auxiliary troops (tributis et armis juvare rempublicam). Their more minute relations to Rome rested on the conditions of the alliance. These were the most advantageous 3. for the Latini, though each of their cities had its own alliance (jus Latii). And also 4. the other single nations of Italy (jus Italicum). On the contrary 5. the subjects, Dedititii, lost their internal constitution, and were governed by Roman magistrates (Praefecti), who were annually renewed.

C. Sigonius de antiquo jure civium Romanorum; and de antiquo jure Italiae, both in the Oper. and in Graevii Thes. Ant. Rom. T. II. contain the most erudite investigations into the particulars of these relations.

17. The internal constitution of Rome itself, which was now complete, bore the character of a democracy, in as far as the nobility and the commons enjoyed equal privileges. But this democracy was so variously and so admirably modified, the rights of the people, of the Senate and the magistrates, were so excellently interwoven, and had so firm a support in the religion of the state, which bound the whole to fixed forms, that there was cause to fear, at that time, neither the evils of

anarchy, nor, what is far more astonishing among so warlike a people, the evils of military despotism.

The rights of the people consisted in the legislative power, as far as the fundamental laws of the state were concerned, and in the choice of magistrates. The difference between *comitia tributa* (as independent of the senate), and *centuriata* (as dependent on it) continued in form, but lost its importance, since the difference between patricians and plebeians, was little more than nominal, and by the establishment of the *tribus urbanae*, 303, the great influence of the populace (*forensis factio*) on the *comitia tributa* was prevented. The rights of the Senate consisted in the power of acting and determining upon all temporary affairs of state, whether they concerned foreign relations (war and peace only excepted, for which the consent of the people was usually necessary), or the finances, or internal peace and security. But the manner, in which vacancies in the senate were filled, must have made it the first political body of the world at that time. The rights and the rank of the magistrates were founded altogether on their higher or less *auspicia*, because all public business could only be transacted *auspicato*. For this reason, he only, who possessed the former, could exercise (*suis auspiciis rem gerere*) the highest civil and military power (*imperium civile et militare*); namely the Dictator, Consuls and Praetors, but not the others, who possessed only the latter. The union of military and civil authority in the same individual was not without inconveniences, but a barrier was opposed to military despotism, by not permitting any magistrate in Rome itself to possess military power. Besides, as the Roman constitution was practically formed, and there never was a complete written constitution, we must not expect to find every thing accurately defined; the surest way to fall into errors is, to endeavor, nevertheless, to give a definite account of the whole.

Among the numerous works on the constitution or antiquities of Rome, we note :

La république Romaine, ou plan général de l'ancien gouvernement de Rome par Mr. de Beaufort. II Voll. 4. à la Haye. 1766. One of the most copious, and in the materials treated of, one of the most profound works. But it does not comprehend all the subjects.

Histoire critique du gouvernement Romaine : Paris. 1765. Not without some ingenious views.

Du gouvernement de la république Romaine par A. Ad. De Texier, 3 Voll. 8vo. Hamburg. 1796. It contains several investigations, peculiar to the author.

A collection of learned researches into the single leading branches of the Roman constitution, such as Sigonius and Gruchius de comitiis Romanorum, Zamoscus de Senatu Romano, etc. may be found in the two first volumes of the *Thes. A. R.* of Graevius.

Von den Volksversamlungen der Römer. Ein antiquarischer Versuch von Chr. Ferd. Schulze. Gotha. 1815. Principally according to Niebuhr.

Among the numerous manuals of Roman antiquities,

Nieuport explicatio rituum Romanorum, ed. Gesner. Berolini. 1743. at least announces exactly what it pretends to contain. Those who pretend to treat of the whole subject of Roman antiquities have never yet risen above mediocrity. But so much the more happily has it been treated of, on the side of law. We mention the two excellent manuals :

Bachii Historia jurisprudentiae Romanae. Lips. 1754. 1796.

G. Hugo *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Römischen Rechts* : seventh Edition. Berlin. 1820.

SECOND PERIOD.

From the beginning of the wars with Carthage, to the beginning of the civil commotions, under the Gracchi. 264—134. (a. u. c. 490—620).

Sources. The leading author for this ever memorable period of the foundation of the universal dominion of Rome, is, till 146, Polybius, both in the books, which we still have entire of his work to 216, and in the fragments. This author even Livy, b. XXI—XLV. 218—166, has often followed. Appian, who is to be named after him, contains not the mere history of wars. Florus gives nothing more than a sketch. Of Plutarch's biographies, those that belong here are Fabius Maximus, P. Aemilius, Marcellus, M. Cato, Flaminius.

Of moderns, one only ought to be mentioned here ; who would wish to be placed near him ?

Montesquieu *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains.* Paris. 1734.

1. The division of Italy laid the foundation of the dominion of Rome in that country ; the division of the world opened the avenue to universal dominion. The first step cost much ; the others were taken rapidly and easily. The history of the contest between Rome and Carthage shows on a large scale, what the history of Greece did on a small ; and all succeeding history confirms, that two republics cannot exist near each other, without mutual attempts at subjugation or annihilation. But the importance, the magnitude and the consequences of this contest, together with the astonishing exertions and great men it brought into

action on both sides, gave it an interest, such as no other contest between nations possesses. If both states were nearly equal in power and resources, yet the nature of these was very different. Carthage, besides the dominion of the sea, had a better filled treasury, and by means of this, as many soldiers as she wished. Rome, on the contrary, strong in herself, possessed all the advantages of the state, that is purely military, over that, which is at the same time commercial.

2. The first three and twenty years' war ^{264 to} between these two republics, soon grew ^{241.} from a small beginning to be a war for the possession of Sicily, was thus extended to a war for the dominion of the sea, opened to Rome, on its gaining this dominion for a season by its newly created fleets, the way to an attack on Africa, and ended with the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily.

The cause of the contest was the garrisoning of Messina by the Romans 264. As Hiero of Syracuse passed over from the Carthaginian to the Roman side 263, the plan of the Romans was first definitely formed to expel the Carthaginians from the island, and the victories at Agrigentum and the capture of that city 262 appeared to bring it nearer its execution; but also showed the Romans the necessity of a naval power. The building of a navy in Italy, which was at that time well-wooded, is less remarkable, when their previous navigation is considered. These were not the first ships of war, which they built; but only the first of a larger kind after a Carthaginian model. The first naval victory of the Romans was under Duilius, by means of the engines for grappling 260. The project now formed of transferring the war to Africa, was one of the great Roman

ideas, which now became a leading maxim of state, to attack an enemy in his own land. The second highly remarkable naval victory 257, which opened the way to Africa, shows the Roman naval tactics in a very splendid light. But the unfortunate issue of the expedition to Africa 256 again restored the equilibrium, and the contest for the dominion of the sea was the more obstinate, the more frequently fortune changed. The decision depended on the possession of the eastern point of Sicily, Lilybaeum and Drepanum, which was constituted the bulwark of Carthage, and appeared impregnable from the time, when Hamilcar Barcas 247 was appointed to the command. Nothing but the cutting off of all communication with Sicily after the last Roman naval victory under Lutatius 241, and the entire exhaustion of the finances in both states, produced a peace on the conditions, that the Carthaginians 1. should evacuate Sicily and the neighboring small islands, 2. in ten years pay by instalments 2200 talents to defray the cost of the war, 3. not make war on Hiero of Syracuse.

3. By the termination of this war Rome was placed in new political relations, which could not but enlarge the sphere of influence of the republic. The length of the war, not less than the manner of its ending, had begot a national hatred, such as can exist no where but in republics; the conviction, that it was not possible to exist independently by the side of one another, became the more apparent, as the points of collision were now far more numerous, than before the beginning of the war; and who does not know the high feeling of every republic, when the first great experiment of its strength has been made?—And of this Rome,
 237 in the midst of peace, gave a forcible example in seizing on Sardinia. But the influence on the

internal constitution was quite as great. For although not the least change was made in its frame, the power of the senate now acquired that preponderance, which in long and successful wars the governments of republics usually acquire.

The first Roman provincial divisions were now made in a part of Sicily and in Sardinia.

4. In the Adriatic Sea also the Romans soon found occasion to use their maritime advantage by humbling the piratic Illyrian state under the queen Teuta, and thus not only secured to themselves the dominion of that sea, but came into the first political relations with the Grecian states, relations, which afterwards became of so much importance.

The first Illyrian war began 230, and ended 226 with the subjection of Teuta; but was renewed in 222 against Demetrius of Pharus, who thought himself not sufficiently rewarded by Rome for his services in the former war. Even after he was driven away and had fled to Philip, 220 (see p. 290) Rome continued to have in him an enemy, and a more dangerous one than she had expected.—The Romans appeared by means of these wars as the saviors of Greece, which had suffered extremely from the pillagings of these pirates; and while Corcyra, Apollonia, and other cities formally put themselves under Roman protection, the Achæians, Aetolians, and Athenians vied with each other in expressions of gratitude.

5. But whilst at this very time Carthage sought compensation in Spain for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, and the jealousy of Rome had forced from it a treaty, by which it was not to extend its conquests beyond the Iberus (see p. 84), Rome had to sustain a new war with its northern

226.

neighbors, the Gauls, which ended after a violent struggle with establishing the Roman dominion in northern Italy also.

From the time of the first war with the Gauls and the burning of Rome 390, the Gauls had made repeated incursions 360 & 348, till they 336 closed a peace with Rome. But in the last period of the wars with the Samnites, on the formation of larger national alliances, they were often used by the Etruscans as mercenary troops, and they also came into connection with the Samnites. Hence their frequent participation in these wars 306, 302 and 292, till they with the Etruscans were obliged to sue for peace 284, after Rome had already sent its first colony to Sena into their territory. The peace lasted till 238, when the advances of the Transalpine Gauls again disturbed the quiet ; yet without engaging in war with Rome. But 232 the proposal of the tribune Flaminius (*lex Flaminia*) for a division of the land, taken from the Senones, occasioned new disturbances, for the Gauls formed a union with their Transalpine countrymen, the Gaesatae on the Rhone, who were accustomed to fight for pay. As these crossed the Alps, the furious six years' war arose 226—220, in which, after the first overthrow of the Gauls at Clusium 225, the Romans penetrated into their country, crossed the Po 223, and after an entire overthrow by Marcellus compelled them to a peace, on which Roman colonies were established in Placentia and Cremona.—The number of those, capable of bearing arms in Roman Italy, amounted in this war to 800,000 men.

6. Before the storm was entirely hushed, in which perhaps the policy of Carthage had not been wholly inactive, Hannibal had received
221. the command in Spain. He cannot be freed from the charge, that he and his party began the war with Rome ; nor could Rome under the circumstances of the time have wished for war ; but it

is not always the first, who attacks, who really begins. Hannibal's plan was the annihilation of Rome, and the transfer of the chief war to Italy could not but bring Rome from its equilibrium, for it was now obliged to act on the defensive, and Hannibal had all the advantages of the attack. The counter measures of the Romans show, that they esteemed the execution of the plan in the way, in which Hannibal came, as utterly impossible.

The history of this war 218—201, which no subsequent events of universal importance have deprived of its interest, must be given in three parts, the history of the war in Italy, of the war conducted at the same time in Spain, and from 203 the war in Africa.—Hannibal invades Italy in the autumn of 218.—The battle on the Ticinus and the battle at Trebia took place the same year.—The battle on the lake Thrasymentus in the spring of 217.—The seat of the war is transferred to lower Italy, and Fabius, the dictator, adopts a defensive system towards the end of that year. The battle of Cannae 216 was followed by the taking of Capua and the reduction of a large part of lower Italy. The following defensive war of the Carthaginian had its origin partly in the plan for forming a union with his brother Asdrubal and the Spanish army, partly in the hope of foreign assistance, by means of his connections in Syracuse since the death of Hiero 215, and with Philip of Macedonia in 216. But both views were frustrated by Rome, for Syracuse was besieged and taken 214—212 (see p. 178) and Philip was kept employed in Greece (see p. 291). But after the Romans, notwithstanding his bold march upon Rome, had taken from him Capua 211, nothing was left him but the succors under Asdrubal from Spain. But he, on his arrival in Italy, was routed by the consuls Cl. Nero and Livius at Sena, and fell

207 ; from which time the war in Italy was but a secondary war, for Hannibal only acted on the defensive in Bruttium.

The course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained by J. Whitaker. Lond. 1794. 2 Voll. 8vo. The passage, it is contended, was made over the St. Bernhard ; other opinions are at the same time critically examined.

Almost at the same time began the war in Spain between Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, and the brothers Cn. & P. Cornelius Scipio, and was conducted with various success till 216, the decision depending chiefly on the dispositions of the Spaniards.—From 216 it was the plan of Carthage to send Asdrubal to Italy with the Spanish army, which was to be replaced by armies from Africa ; but this was prevented by two victories of the Scipios at Ibera 216 and Illiberis 215 ; till finally these two sunk 212 under the superior power and craft of the Carthaginian. But the presence of the youthful P. Cornelius Scipio, who appeared not to his own nation only as a higher spirit, changed every thing, and the fate of Rome was soon attached to this ominous name. During his command in Spain 210—206 he won the Spaniards, and also defeated the Carthaginians, and, for the execution of his great plan, formed connections with Syphax in Africa 206. Yet he was not able to prevent Hasdrubal's march to Italy 208, which however left him able to subject all Carthaginian Spain as far as Gades 206, and by that means to gain the consulship on his return 205.

The removal of the war to Africa by Scipio, notwithstanding the opposition of the old generals in Rome, and the return of Syphax to the side of Carthage through the influence of Sophonisbe, (which was, however, abundantly compensated by Masinissa, who had already been won in Spain,) was after two victories over Hasdrubal and Syphax 203, and the captivity of the latter, soon followed by the recall of Hannibal from Italy 202, and the battle at Zama 201 terminated the war on the conditions, that 1. Carthage should retain only its territory in Africa with its constitution ; 2. de-

liver up all ships of war except 10 triremes and all elephants ; 3. pay by fixed instalments 10,000 talents ; 4. begin no war without the consent of Rome ; 5. give every thing back to Masinissa, which he or his ancestors had ever possessed, whether houses, cities, or lands.—The usual reproach, made to the Carthaginians, that they did not support Hannibal, is done away, when we follow their plan, carefully devised and pursued from 216 with great firmness, of sending the Spanish army to Italy, and supplying its place by Africans ; and the party of the Barcas in Carthage plainly had still the upper hand at the end of the war. But why they, who in the peace delivered up 500 ships of war, suffered Scipio to cross over from Sicily, without sending a single ship against him, is hard to be explained.

7. Notwithstanding the loss of men and the desolation of Italy, Rome was far more powerful at the end of this war, than at its beginning. Not the dominion over Italy only was confirmed ; large foreign countries had been taken, and the dominion of the sea secured by the annihilation of the Carthaginian naval power. The form of the constitution was, it is true, not changed ; but its spirit was essentially ; for the power of the senate became almost unlimited ; and notwithstanding the dawn of culture, which broke upon Rome after its acquaintance with the cultivated nations of antiquity, the state became more and more a military state. Now for the first time in the history of the world we have the fearful phenomenon of a great military republic ; and the history of the next period, in which Rome overturns all neighboring thrones and republics, also gave a proof, that such a state is the natural enemy of the independence of all states, which its arm can reach.—

The causes, why Rome now desired universal dominion, lay neither in its geographical situation, which seemed rather unfavorable for a power, that would conquer by its armies; nor in the will of the people, which was disinclined even to the first war against Philip, but exclusively in the spirit of its government. But the means by which it attained its end, are to be sought not merely in the excellence of its armies and its commanders, but quite as much in the firmness and adroitness of its policy, with which it frustrated every great union against itself, though there were not wanting adversaries who endeavored to effect such unions. And where was there ever a council of state, in which such a mass of practical political knowledge could be found, as in the Roman Senate from the nature of its organization?—Yet all this would not have been sufficient to subject the world, had not Rome been assisted by the want of good constitutions and a degenerate art of war in the remaining kingdoms, and a deeply corrupt state of morals among the rulers and the nations of the exterior.

View of the political relations of the world at that time. In the West Sicily, (in its whole extent since 212), Sardinia and Corsica since 237, and Spain, divided into hither and further, (though the latter more in name than in reality), since 206, were Roman provinces; the dependence of Carthage since the last peace was already secured by the alliance with Masinissa; and Gallia cisalpina as a province served as a bulwark against the attacks of the northern barbarians. On the contrary in the East the Macedonian kingdoms, with the Grecian republics, formed a system of states, of which the mutual relations were very complicated, and those with Rome were formed since the Illyrian war 230 and

Philip's union with Hannibal 214. Of three powers of the first rank, Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, the two former were united against the latter, which in its turn had a good understanding with Rome; the states of the second rank, which Rome constantly endeavored to gain for itself, in order the more boldly to meet those of the first, the Aetolian league, the kings of Pergamus, and the republic Rhodes, and several smaller ones, as Athens, were from the time of the alliance against Philip 211 the allies of Rome.—The Achaian league, on the contrary, was in the Macedonian interests.

8. The declaration of war against Philip of Macedonia immediately followed, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes of the people, and the attack upon Macedonia,—for it from this time continued an established maxim, to attack the enemy on his own soil,—was made without delay, though they were still unable to drive Philip at once from Epirus and Thessaly, the bulwarks of his country. But in T. Quintius Flaminius, who appeared against Philip in the part of liberator of Greece, and by his continuing political influence was the true founder of the Roman power in the East, Rome found the statesman and general, such as suit only an age of great revolutions. Who better understood the art of playing with men and nations, even while they erected altars to him? He continued to throw around himself by arts the dazzling light of a superior genius, which nature had gathered round Scipio, and he has almost deceived history itself. The war between him and Philip was more a war of talents than of arms: and even before the battle of Cyno-

200.

198.

197.

193. cephalae gave the final decision, the Romans, by winning the Achaians, had long had the superiority on their side.

The negotiations since 214 between Rome and Macedonia give the first striking proofs at once of the firmness and the adroitness of the Roman policy, and are the more remarkable, as by the alliance with the Aetolians and others 211 (see p. 291) the seed for all the subsequent events in the East was sown. The system of the Romans, to take the weak as allies under their protection, could not but furnish them with an opportunity for a war with the more powerful, so soon as they wanted it; and, notwithstanding the peace closed with Philip 204, this was now the case. In the war itself, which was carried on by land and sea, the entire expulsion of Philip from Greece was properly the object of the Romans. (The allies on each side, and the conditions of peace, quite analogous to those with Carthage, see p. 292). The annihilation of the naval power of the vanquished on concluding peace, was now a maxim of Roman policy, by which Rome maintained the indispensably necessary dominion of the sea without large fleets of its own, and without losing its essential character of placing its strength in its land forces.

9. The expulsion of Philip from Greece placed this land in a state of dependence upon Rome, which could not better be secured than by the gift of liberty, which T. Quintius made the Greeks
196. at the Isthmian games; and the system of supervision, which the Romans had already established in the West over Carthage and Numidia, was now applied in the East to Greece and Macedonia. Roman embassies, which were sent into the allied countries, were the chief means, used for keeping up this supervision, which, how-

ever, soon became troublesome to the Greeks, especially to the head-strong Aetolians, the more as the Romans made no kind of haste to withdraw their army from the free country.

Freedom was properly given to those states, which had been on Philip's side; viz. the Achaians; with the others it came of course — Yet the Roman army did not till after three years 194 withdraw from Greece and the fortresses, and the conduct of Flaminius in this period shows the character of the man. The Greeks needed such a guardian, if they were to have peace; yet his conduct in the war against Nabis 195 shows, that he was least of all concerned for the preservation of tranquillity in Greece.

10. By the peace with Philip the seeds of a new and greater war with Syria were sown, which at that time could not but have been regarded as unavoidable, although it did not break out till after six years. There are in the whole compass of history few periods of a greater crisis, than the crisis in these six years. The fall of Carthage and Macedonia showed the world, what was to be expected of Rome; and great men were not wanting, who possessed both wisdom and power, to devise a scheme of resistance. The danger of a great union between Carthage and Syria, perhaps Macedonia also, for which Hannibal, now at the head of the Carthaginian state, strove with all the zeal that his hatred of Rome could inspire, and to which the accession of several smaller states might be anticipated, had never been so great as at this time; yet Rome frustrated this coalition by a policy, equally decided and crafty. It drove Hannibal from Carthage, kept Philip at bay ^{195.}

with small advantages, was active in the petty states by its ambassadors, and found in Syria excellent support in the court intrigues. Antiochus was thus thrown on his own resources, with the exception of the Aetolians and a few other weak allies in Greece, whilst the Romans derived essential advantages from their allies, especially the Rhodians and Eumenes.

The first point of dispute between the Romans and Antiochus was the freedom of the Greeks, which the former desired to extend to the Asiatic cities, especially those which Philip possessed, and Antiochus had occupied; whilst Antiochus demanded, that they should not interfere in Asiatic concerns;—the second point was, the occupation of the Thracian Chersonesus by Antiochus 196, on account of ancient claims, the Romans on the contrary refusing to bear with him in Europe. The contest began 196, but was not lively, till by Hannibal's flight to Antiochus 195, and the fury and excitement of the Aetolians, the prospect on all sides was darkened. How fortunate for Rome, that Hannibal and Antiochus could not understand each other!

Heyne de foederum ad Romanorum opes imminuendas initorum eventis eorumque causis; in Opusc. Vol. III.

11. The war itself was sooner decided than the Macedonian, for Antiochus adopted partial
191. measures. After he had been driven from Greece by Glabrio, and three naval victories had opened to Rome the way to Asia, he wished to act on the defensive; but in the battle at Magnesia on the Sipylus, L. Scipio reaped the laurels, which belonged far more to Glabrio.
190. The entire expulsion of Antiochus from Asia Minor became before the victory the object of the war, and by the conditions of peace (see p. 246.)

care was taken, not merely to weaken Antiochus, but to keep him in dependence.

During this great contest in the East, the murderous wars in the West since 201 continued in Spain, where the elder Cato 195 commanded, and since 193 the wars in Italy itself against the Ligurians. Whatever may be said of the means of increasing the Roman citizens, it is still hard to comprehend, how they were able, not only to meet all these demands on their strength, but even continually to send out new colonies.

12. Even after the decision of this contest Rome with wonderful moderation avoided appearing in the form of a conqueror; it pretended to have fought only for the freedom of the Greeks and for its allies. Without taking for itself a foot of land, it divided the conquered Asia Minor, with the exception of the Greek cities, between Eumenes and the Rhodians; and at the same time showed, in its treatment of the Aetolians, who at last after long entreaties were permitted to purchase peace, that it knew how to punish its rebellious allies.—The war upon the Gauls in 189. Asia Minor was as necessary for the preservation of the tranquillity of the country, as the manner, in which it was conducted, was injurious for Roman manners and discipline. The art of forcing contributions was here acquired.

13. Thus within ten years the Roman authority was established in the East, and the 200 to 193. form of things was in general entirely changed. Not yet the mistress, but the umpire of the world, the claims of Rome were acknowledged from the Atlantic to the Euphrates; the power of three

leading states was so completely broken, that they could not even begin a war without Rome's permission, the fourth, Egypt, had in 201 put itself under Roman guardianship (see p. 265), and the weaker followed of course, for they all esteemed it an honor to be called the allies of Rome. Upon this name, with which the nations were subjected, while they were lulled to sleep, Rome founded this new political system, and supported it, partly by constantly exciting and favoring the weaker against the stronger, however unjust the pretensions of the former might be, partly by the factions which it contrived to form in all, even in the smallest states.

Universally active as was the Roman policy by means of their embassies, they still had under special inspection Carthage, against which they encouraged Masinissa, the Achaian league, against which they favored the Spartans, and Philip of Macedonia, against whom they supported any one, who would make complaint. See p. 87. 293. 294.

14. On the interior of Rome these altered relations, and this acquaintance with foreign nations, although attended by a gradual increase and extension of scientific and polite culture, had in many respects an injurious influence. The introduction of the disgraceful Bacchanalia, which were discovered and prohibited, shows, how easily gross
186. vices make their way among a nation, which owes its boasted morality to a want of knowledge of them. Among the higher classes the spirit of cabals showed itself in a striking manner in the attack, which the elder Cato, whose restless activity was forever but the instrument of his hateful

passions, made upon the Scipios. His strict censorship did not compensate the injury, 185. which was done by his own immorality, and his poisonous policy.

Voluntary exile of Scipio Africanus to Linternum 187, where he died 183, in the very year in which Hannibal fell under the persecution of Rome. Even his brother, L. Scipio Asiaticus could not escape accusation and condemnation 185.—Extraordinary results might have been expected from the removal of these great men; but in a state, where the government was in the hands of a body like the Roman senate, the removal of individuals is of little moment.

15. New disputes with Philip of Macedonia, since 185, who soon did but too well feel, that he had been spared, only as long as he had been needed. Although the breaking out of the war was at first delayed by his younger son, and the plans which they had with him in Rome, and then by the death of Philip, still their hatred 179. constantly increased under his successor Perseus, notwithstanding the renewal of the league; 172. till the war finally broke out. (See p. 296.)

The first causes of the contest with Philip were given by the very same small conquests in Athamania and Thessaly, which, during the war with Antiochus, Philip had been permitted to make. Yet Philip was troubled by the manner of procedure of the Roman commission 184, before which he, a king, was obliged to appear as an accused person, more than by the subject in dispute. The exclamation, forced from him by his rage, “the evening of all days was not yet come,” shows his intentions even at that time.—The period to the breaking out of the war was for Rome any thing but a peaceful interval. Besides the war in Spain and Liguria,

which continued almost without interruption, the insurrections as well in Istria 178, as in Sardinia and Corsica 176, occasioned highly bloody wars.

16. The second Macedonian war, which ended with the fall of Perseus and his kingdom (see 168. p. 296), called forth the whole activity of the Roman policy, to prevent a powerful coalition, for Perseus on his side used every effort to acquire for himself allies not only in Greece, Thrace and Illyria, but also in Carthage and Asia. At this time where were not Roman envoys to be found?—They also succeeded so far, though not entirely, in isolating him, that his alliances did but prepare for them new triumphs. Epirus, which was plundered, and Gentius of Illyria, had to suffer severely, and those of the Roman allies who had remained neutral, the Rhodians and Eumenes, had to feel in earnest, that they were but the creatures of Rome.

Beginning of the Macedonian war 171 before Rome was prepared ; time was won only by means of a deceitful truce, which even revolted the aged senators. Yet the war 170 & 169 went favorably for Perseus, who wanted nothing but firmness and wisdom to profit by his advantages, till 168 Paulus Aemilius—contrary to the custom of the Romans an old general—received the command. Decisive murderous battle at Pydna, 22d June 168. Thus an hour was sufficient to ruin a kingdom, which had no other support than its army.—At the same time with this war, and very opportunely for Rome, Antiochus Epiphanes made war on Egypt. No wonder, that Rome did not command peace there till 168 by Popilius. See p. 267.

17. The annihilation of the Macedonian monarchy had equally injurious consequences for the

victors and the vanquished. With the first the design was fast matured of becoming from the umpires the rulers of the world; and the latter had to endure for the next twenty years all the evils, which necessarily attended such a change. The former system of Roman policy was one that could not permanently endure, for nations can be subjected, but not long held in dependence under the name of liberty. The circumstances of the times, resulting from this war, likewise contributed much towards effecting a change in the relation of the Romans to their allies.

The republicanizing of the first desolated Macedonia (see p. 297.) and Illyrium, which, according to a decree of the senate, "was to show all nations that Rome was ready to bring them freedom," took place under such oppressive conditions, that the liberated were forced to try all measures for obtaining a king.—Yet Greece suffered still more than Macedonia. As during the war the spirit of faction had there attained its highest point, the haughtiness of the Roman faction, composed chiefly of venal villains, was as great as the persecution of all of different sentiments, even of those who had taken no side. And yet Rome did not believe itself secure, till by a dark scheme it had at once freed itself of all important adversaries. See p. 297.

18. In exactly the same spirit they now proceeded against the other powers, from which opposition could still be expected. They were to be made defenceless; and every means for attaining that object seemed admissible in the eyes of the senate. Whilst advantage is taken of the disputes of the successors to the throne in Egypt, (see p. 267.) possession of the guardianship of Syria was gained, while the rightful heir is de-

162. tained in Rome, in order by ambassadors to annihilate the military power of that kingdom, (see p. 249.).

19. It is therefore plain, that the designs now arising against Carthage were no isolated project, but were rather most intimately connected with the whole policy of the Romans at that time, although the execution of the plan was sometimes delayed and sometimes hastened by several occurrences. In the incredible injuries, which Carthage was obliged to endure before its fall, it would seem as if history had wished to give the nations, that can understand it, an example of what they have to expect from the tyranny of a too powerful republic.

Cato was the leader of the party, which desired the destruction of Carthage, partly from the spirit of opposition to Scipio Nasica, whom he hated, because his influence in the senate was too great; partly because he had not thought himself sufficiently honored by the Carthaginians on the occasion of his embassy. The victory of Masinissa 152 (see p. 87) and the revolt of Utica brought the project to maturity.—The war was begun 150, after Carthage had been faithlessly disarmed, but not till 146 was the city taken and destroyed by P. Scipio Aemilianus; and the territory of Carthage, under the name of Africa, was made a Roman province.

20. Contemporary with the third Carthaginian war was a new war in Macedonia, which drew in its train another in Greece, and changed the fate of both countries. In Macedonia a certain Andriscus, pretending to be a son of Perseus, placed himself at the head of the highly discontented

people; assumed the name of Philip, and particularly by his connections in Thrace became very formidable to Rome, till he was conquered by Metellus. As Rome wished to profit by this opportunity to dissolve the Achaian league, this led to the Achaian war (see p. 297), which was begun by Metellus, and terminated by Mummius with the destruction of Corinth. Greece as well as Macedonia, now a Roman province, showed that no relation and no constitution could protect from the subjection of the military republic.

It might have been expected that the annihilation of two of the first commercial cities of the world in the same year, must have affected the course of commerce; but the commerce of Carthage and Corinth had previously been in a great measure engrossed by Alexandria and Rhodes; moreover Utica in some measure took the place of Carthage.

21. Whilst Rome in this way overturned thrones and republics, it found in a Spanish rustic, Viriathus, an adversary in that country, whom after a six years' contest it could free itself only by assassination. But even after his death the war continued against the untameable Numantines, whom Scipio Aemilianus was able to extirpate, but not to subject.

The wars against the Spaniards, who, of all the subjected nations, defended their liberty against Rome with the greatest obstinacy, began in 200, after the entire expulsion of the Carthaginians from the country 206. They were so obstinately conducted, partly from the nature of the very populous land, where almost every place was a fortress; partly from the courage of the inhabitants; but chiefly by

the policy of the Romans, who constantly armed their allies against the other tribes. From 200 to 133 the wars seldom ceased entirely, and were for the most part conducted at once in hither Spain, where the Celtiberians, and in further Spain, where the Lusitanians were the most powerful adversaries. They were most violent 195 under Cato, who brought hither Spain into a state of quiet; then 185—179, when the Celtiberians were attacked in their own territory; and 155—150, when the Romans were so defeated in both provinces, that fear of going to them prevailed in Rome. The extortions and the faithlessness of Servius Galba brought Viriathus 146 to the head of his nation, the Lusitanians, yet the war soon extended to hither Spain, where with other nations the Numantines in particular rose up against Rome 143. Sometimes conqueror, sometimes conquered, Viriathus is most formidable after a defeat, for he knew how to profit by the localities of his country, and to manage the character of his nation. After he was murdered 140 at the instance of Caepio, Lusitania is subjected, but the Numantine war becomes the more violent, and the Numantines compel 137 the consul Mancinus to an unfavorable treaty. After Scipio terminated the war 133, it was more quiet in Spain, but the northern part of the country was not yet wholly subjected to the Romans, though they penetrated even into Gallicia.

22. It was at a much cheaper rate, that Rome, just at the end of this period obtained some of their most important provinces, as the crazy Attalus III. of Pergamus (it is uncertain at whose instance,) bequeathed to them his whole kingdom (see p. 300), of which they immediately took and kept possession, notwithstanding the insurrection of the pretended heir Aristonicus, whilst they ceded Phrygia as a reward to Mithridates V. of Pontus. Thus the largest and fairest

part of Asia Minor fell to Rome by a stroke of the pen. If this singular acquisition was a work of Roman policy, Rome at least suffered fearfully enough for this increase of its power and its wealth by the destruction of its morals, and the tremendous wars, which ensued with Mithridates.

23. The foreign possessions of Rome, exclusive of Italy proper, now embraced under the name of provinces, in the W. hither and further Spain, Africa (territory of Carthage), Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul; in the E. Macedonia, Achaia and Asia, (district of Pergamus). The inhabitants of these countries were in every sense Roman subjects. The administration was in the hands of Roman magistrates, the ex-consuls, and Praetors, to whom Quaestors (receivers general) were subordinate. The governors possessed at once the highest judicial, civil and military authority, (a chief cause of the terrible oppression which now took place); and there were constantly troops in the provinces. By introducing the Roman language, (except where Greek was spoken,) they hoped to *romanize* the inhabitants.

Till towards the end of this period the praetors were expressly named for the provinces. It was not customary till after the rise of the quaestiones perpetuae, for the ex-praetors (propraetores) to receive provinces, one chief cause of the decline of the Roman constitution.

C. Sigonius de antiquo jure provinciarum in Graevii Thes. A. R. Vol. II.

24. The acquisition of these rich territories naturally had a great influence on the increase of

the Roman public revenues. Rome, it is true, did not, like Carthage, depend entirely on its finances, but still these were admirably well balanced ; and here as in every other public institution the spirit of strict order is manifest. If in individual cases the expedients of domestic loans, a change in the standard of money, and a monopoly of salt, were adopted, order was soon restored again ; and the booty from the conquered countries was a great source of income to the treasury, as long as the generals continued, as they thus far had done, to plunder for the state.

Sources of the Roman revenues (*vectigalia*) were :
1. Tribute. *a.* of the Roman citizens, i. e. a property tax ; (which however after the war with Perseus 168 were for a long time discontinued as unnecessary ;) regulated by the senate according to the exigencies of the occasion. *b.* Tribute of the *socii* in Italy. This seems too to have been a tax on property ; but was different in different places. *c.* Tribute of the provinces. In some there were heavy poll taxes, in others taxes on property ; to which must be added the many ordinary and extraordinary contributions of natural produce, as well those for the governors, which were usually appraised, as those for the supplies of the capital.
2. The produce from the public domains (*ager publicus*), as well in Italy, especially Campania, as in the provinces, of which tithes (*decumae*) were required, which were collected by farming them for four years under the direction of the censors.
3. The revenue derived from duties (*portoria*) in the harbors and in the cities on the confines.
4. The revenue from the mines (*metalla*), especially the Spanish silver mines ; by means of taxes, which the owners were obliged to pay to the state.
5. The taxes of the slaves who were manumitted (*aurum vicesimarium*).—All the revenues

went into the public chest, the *aerarium* ; all expenditures of the same were regulated exclusively by the senate, and the people was in this consulted as little as respecting the taxes. The officers were the quaestors, under whom were the *scribae* (divided into *decurias*) as subalterns, yet not without great influence. As these were not annually changed, they could not but be indispensable to the quaestors of the time, and the business, at least all the details, was chiefly in their hands.

On the Roman finances the leading work has hitherto been :

P. Burmanni *Vectigalia Populi Romani*. Leiden. 1734. 4to.—Since then there have been published two excellent works in Germany :

D. H. Hegewisch *Versuch über die Römischen Finanzen*. Altona. 1804. and

R. Bosse *Grundzüge des Finanzwesens im Römischen Staat*. Braunschweig. 1803. 2 Th. Both embrace the republic as well as the monarchy.

THIRD PERIOD.

From the beginning of the civil commotions under the Gracchi, to the fall of the Republic. 134—30. (a. u. c. 620—724).

Sources. Concerning the first half of this most important period of the republic down to the age of Cicero, we have unfortunately the most scanty information. Not a single contemporary, indeed, not a single later writer has come down to us, who has treated of the history of the whole period. Appian *de bellis civilibus*, Plutarch in his biography of the Gracchi, and Velleius Paterculus, the spirited writer of compends, are here the leading authors ; and even the meagre

tables of the contents of the lost books of Livy, supplied in a masterly manner by Freinshemius, become important. For the following times, Sallust's Jugurtha and Catalina are two excellent cabinet-pieces, so much the more valuable, since they make us acquainted with the internal state of Rome; but his leading work, the histories, has perished, with the exception of a number of precious fragments. In the age of Caesar and Cicero, the commentaries of the former, and the orations and letters of the latter are rich sources. The history of Dion Cassius, which yet remains to us, commences with the year 69 before Christ. Of Plutarch's biographies, those that belong here, besides those of the Gracchi, are Caius Marius, Sylla, Lucullus, Crassus, Sertorius, Caesar, Cato of Utica, Cicero, Brutus and Antony; concerning the sources of which, Heeren's treatises quoted above, page 331, are to be consulted.

By moderns, the greater part of this period in particular has been treated of in :

De Brosse Histoire de la république Romaine dans le cours du VII. siècle par Salluste. III Voll. 4to. à Dijon. 1777. The author of this excellent work acted on the plan of translating and supplying Sallust. It comprehends, therefore, besides the translation of the Jugurtha and Cataline, the period included between the two, treated of by Sallust in the *Historiae*, from the abdication of Sulla 79 till 67 before Christ, and is equally important in itself and for the period of which it treats.

De Vertot Histoire des revolutions arrivées dans le gouvernement de la Republique Romaine. Paris. 1796. 6 Voll. 12mo. Although this justly highly prized work comprises the former periods also, it should be particularly named here.

Mably Observations sur les Romains. Genève. 1751. 2 Vol. 8vo. A general view of internal history, not without spirit, but as superficial, as the Observations sur les Grecs, of this same author.

1. If the former period was but little more than the history of foreign wars, in this, on the contrary, Rome appears in a continual state of internal convulsions, which were at times interrupted, for some intervals, by foreign wars, but were soon renewed, in order to pass into yet more violent civil wars. While the almost absolute power of the senate gave rise to a most odious family aristocracy, which was resisted by the tribunes of the people in the character of powerful demagogues, a new contest arose between the aristocratic and democratic parties, which soon became factions. Their magnitude and consequences gave to these contests far more importance, than the ancient strifes between patricians and plebeians had possessed.

This aristocracy of families gradually arose from participation in the magistracies, which had now become not only much more important in a practical view, but also much more profitable, by the administration of the provinces. The present aristocratical party consisted therefore of the ruling families (*nobiles*), and their rallying point was the senate.—The contest with the opposite party, the *plebs*, must have been the more violent, the greater the abuses were (especially in the division of the public lands,) which had crept into the civil administration, and secured to the ruling families alone the fruits of all victories and conquests, and the more powerful the democratic party had become by the great increase of the populace (without a livelihood, yet with a voice in the *comitia*), especially of the numerous freedmen, who, although foreigners, generally without fortune or ability, now constituted the greater part of the Roman people, so called.

G. Al. Ruperti *stemmata gentium Romanarum*. Goett. 1795. 8vo. Almost indispensable, for a clear view of the private and public history of Rome.

2. Beginning of the disturbances, during the
tribuneship of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus,
133. whom his earlier relations had already made
the man of the people. His aim was to relieve
the condition of the lower classes ; and the means,
a better distribution of the public lands, which
were almost exclusively in the hands of the aristocrats. From this circumstance, his reform was,
necessarily, from the very beginning, a contest
against the aristocracy. But Tib. Gracchus was
compelled to find from experience that a demagogue cannot continue to stand where he wishes,
however pure may be the views by which he is
actuated ; for when he, contrary to usage, demanded a renewal of his tribuneship, he fell, the
victim of his projects.

The first agrarian law of Gracchus, sanctioned by the people, after the useless intercession of his colleague Octavius, according to which no person could possess more than five hundred acres, and each son the half of this quantity, was properly a renewal of the ancient *Lex Licinia*, but at that period of Rome, when it was an attack on the amassed property of all great families, it was of infinitely greater importance, than in the earlier ages.—The appointment of a commission for the distribution of the lands, to whom was also referred the investigation, what is, and what is not, *Ager publicus* ?—New popular propositions of the elder Gracchus, especially the division of the treasures bequeathed by Attalus of Pergamus, in order to obtain a renewal of his tribuneship.—Great riot and the murder of Tib. Gracchus by the aristocratic party under Scipio Nasica, on the day of the election of the new tribunes of the people.

3. But the new party itself was any thing but annihilated with the fall of its head. So far from

there being any prospect of a repeal of the agrarian law, the senate was even obliged to permit the office, left vacant in the commission by the death of Gracchus, to be supplied; and even Scipio Nasica himself had to be removed to Asia, under the pretence of an embassy. The party of the senate obtained indeed, in a short time, a firm support in Scipio Aemilianus, returning from Spain (†129), but it derived the greatest advantage from the internal difficulties, which opposed the execution of the law. ^{132.}

Great insurrection of the slaves in Sicily, under Eunus, 134—131. This insurrection gave not a little vigor to the contest in Rome by showing the necessity of a reform.

4. Evident attempts of the tribunes of the people to increase their power, which Gracchus had led them to feel. It was not enough for them to possess a seat and voice in the senate, Carbo even wished to make the renewal of their dignity legal. By an honorable removal of the heads of the popular party, the eruption of new disturbances was avoided for some years. ^{130.}

M. Fulvius Flaccus first founded the power of Rome in Gallia transalpina, on occasion of sending aid to Massilia 128. As early as 122, by the overthrow of the Allobroges and Arverni by Q. Fabius, against which nations protection had been extended to the Aedui, as allies, the South of Gaul became a Roman province.—Conquest of the Balearian Islands by Metellus 123.—Quaestorship of C. Gracchus in Sicily 128—125.

5. Still these palliative measures were of no benefit, when C. Gracchus, with the resolution to tread in the footsteps of his brother. returned from

Sardinia. He too, indeed, finally fell, the victim of his plans ; but the storm which he raised during his tribuneship of two years, was the more violent, the greater the fermentation was at its commencement, and the more he excelled his elder brother in those shining talents which make the powerful demagogue.

First tribuneship of C. Gracchus 123.—Renewal of the agrarian law more severe than before. But while he increased the fermentation by the arts of a demagogue, and obtained the renewal of his tribuneship for the following year 122, he so far extended his plans, that they became highly dangerous, not for the aristocracy only, but even for the state.—Origin of the distributions of corn among the poor.—Plan to form the *ordo equestris* into a political body, as a counterpoise to the senate, by committing to it the judicium, which were taken from the senate.—Yet more important was the proposal to impart the rights of citizenship to the Italian allies ; and also to establish colonies, not only in Campania, but also out of Italy, in Carthage. His full triumph was only prevented by the exceedingly crafty policy of the senate, while, by means of the tribune Livius Drusus, the man of the people, was removed from their eyes ; and once on the decline, Gracchus was soon compelled to learn what every demagogue in like circumstances must learn, that his utter ruin was then inevitable.—Great tumult and murder of C. Gracchus 121.

6. The victory of the aristocratic faction was this time not only much more complete and bloody, but the party knew how to improve it so well, that the agrarian law of Gracchus was eluded and at last repealed. But the seed of disturbances, once disseminated, was not to be checked, when the idea of sharing in the government had

once risen in the minds of the governed. How soon the contest of factions should not only be renewed, but even break out into a civil war, depended upon external circumstances, and upon the chance of meeting with a bold leader.

Evasion of the agrarian law, first by annulling the law, prohibiting the transfer of the distributed public lands, by which the Optimates were enabled to re-purchase them; then, by the *lex Thoria*; an entire interruption of all further distributions, for which as an equivalent, a ground-rent was distributed to the people. But this ground-rent soon ceased to be paid.

D. H. Hegewisch *Geschichte der Gracchischen Unruhen*. Altona. 1801.

Heeren's *History of the revolution of the Gracchi in: Vermischte historische Schriften*. B. III. 1821.

7. The spirit of faction recoiled most visibly on morals, which now began to decline the more rapidly from the concurrent influence of foreign relations. Neither the strictness of the censorship, nor the sumptuary laws (*leges sumptuariæ*), nor the laws which now became necessary against celibacy, were productive of any benefit. We must seek for the causes of this corruption, not only in the avarice of the higher orders, but also in the licentiousness of the populace at large.

Roman luxury was at first public luxury, arising from the excessive accumulation of wealth in the *aerarium*; especially in the Macedonian wars, before it became private luxury; and even this was preceded, for some time, by the avarice of the great. The principal means of satisfying the latter, were derived from the extortions of the governors of the provinces. These magistrates, besides their too great power, were favored by the distance, and found but a small

obstacle in the *leges repetundarum* ; but perhaps a still more abundant source was found in the attempts of the allied princes and kings to gain a party in the senate, which in a short time could only be obtained by purchase, and afforded nourishment at once to avarice and intrigue. But private luxury needed time to attain to maturity. It did not reach its summit till after the Mithridatic wars.

C. Meiners *Geschichte des Verfalls der Sitten und der Staatsverfassung der Römer*. Leipzig. 1782.

Meierotto *Sitten und Lebensart der Römer zu verschiedenen Zeiten der Republik*. Berlin. 1776. The most complete treatise on this comprehensive subject.

C. A. Böttiger *Sabina, oder Morgenscenen in Puzzimmer einer reichen Römerin*. Leipzig. 1806. 2 Voll. A delineation, as finely drawn as it is true, of the luxury of Roman ladies ; but in the time of its highest splendor.

8. This corruption appears most strikingly in the next great war, which Rome had to carry on ^{118 to} in Africa, against Jugurtha of Numidia, the ^{106.} adopted grand-son of Massinissa, and soon against his ally, Bocchus of Mauretania. This war, kindled and sustained by the avarice of great men at Rome, whom Jugurtha had principally known in Numantia, laid open to a new demagogue, in the person of C. Marius, the road to greatness ; who, at the same time a formidable general, was far more dangerous to the state than the Gracchi had been.

Beginning of the quarrels of Jugurtha with the two sons of Micipsa, and the murder of the one, Hiempsal 118.—When Adherbal, the other, applies to Rome for redress 117, the party of Jugurtha is victorious, and obtains a division of the kingdom.—New attack upon Adherbal, who is besieged in Cirta ; and although a second embassy had been sent to

Jugurtha from Rome, he was obliged to surrender, and was put to death in 112. The tribune, C. Memmius compels the senate to a war against Jugurtha; but he purchases peace from Cs. Calpurnius Piso 111.—Memmius prevents the ratification of the peace; and Jugurtha is ordered to Rome to answer in his defence. He would still have probably purchased an acquittal, had not the murder of his cousin Massiva, in 110, with the assistance of Bomilcar, rendered it impossible. The war was renewed, with the worst success, under Cs. Sp. Albinus and his brother Aulus 110; till the incorruptible Q. Metellus obtained the command in 109, who, in spite of the great talents which Jugurtha now evinced as a general, and his alliance with Bocchus 108, would have put an end to the war, had he not been supplanted by Marius, who by his popularity, stole into the consulship in 107.—And yet Marius was obliged to make a traitor of Bocchus, in order by him to bring Jugurtha into his hands 106.—Numidia is divided between Bocchus, and Hiempsal and Hiarbas, two grandsons of Massanissa.

9. The elevation of Marius to the consulship not only broke the power of the aristocracy, now that a new man, without birth (*homo novus*), had shown for the first time, that the way to the highest offices stood open, even to him, but the manner also in which he had, contrary to Roman usage, formed his army out of the populace, (*capite census*), must have made him doubly formidable. Still he would hardly have overthrown the constitution, had not this been rendered inevitable by a new and highly dangerous war, when the most powerful nations of the north, the Cimbri and Teutones, threatened to overwhelm Italy, while another formidable war was kindled at the same time by the slaves in Sicily. But after the defeat of several

Roman armies, the people believed that they could find the preserver of Italy in no one but the conqueror of Jugurtha; and Marius knew how to im-
 104 to prove this so well, that he remained consul,
 101. four successive years.

The Cimbri or Cimmerii, a nation probably of Germanic origin, from the countries above the Black Sea, occasioned a popular migration, which extended from thence as far as Spain. Their removal, caused or influenced perhaps by the Scythian war of Mithridates, proceeded as those of nomades generally do, from East to West, along the Danube. As early as 113, they defeated Cs. Papirius Carbo at Noreia in Stiria.—On their further march to the West, they are joined by German, Celtic and Helvetian nations (Teutones, Ambrones, Tigurini).—Attack upon Roman Gaul 109, in which they demand a residence; and defeat of Cs. Junius Silanus.—Defeat of L. Cassius Longinus, and of M. Aurelius Scaurus 107.—Principal defeat of the Romans in Gaul 105, caused by the dissensions between the leaders, Cs. Cn. Manlius and 2. Servilius Caepio. Marius obtains the command and continues consul from 104—101. The migrations of the Cimbri, (a part of whom crossed the Pyrenees, but were driven back by the Celtiberi 103), gave Marius time to form his army. In 102, they attempted for the first time, in separate bodies, the Teutones through Provence, the Cimbri themselves through the Tyrol, to penetrate into Italy.—Great defeat and annihilation of the Teutones by Marius at Aix, 102.—On the other hand, the actual invasion and progress of the Cimbri, till Marius goes to the assistance of Catulus. Great battle and defeat of the Cimbri on the Po, 30th July 101.

T. Müller bellum Cimbricum. A youthful attempt of the renowned historian. cf. Mannert Geographie etc. Th. III.

10. If already, during these wars, the power of the popular party had visibly increased, the storm

actually broke out for the first time, when Marius purchased his sixth consulship. Now, present himself at Rome, he wished to revenge him-^{100.} self on his enemies; and what could the senate do, when in the person of the consul himself, a demagogue stood at its head?—His connexion with the tribune Saturninus and the Praetor Glaucias, already an actual triumvirate, would have been the ruin of the republic, after Metellus had been removed, had not the shameless licentiousness of the herd of his allies compelled him to leave their party, that he might not lose all popularity.

The attack of the conspiracy, which wished to appear to tread in the footsteps of the Gracchi, was at first directed against Q. Metellus, the head of the senatorial party, and, since the events in Africa, the mortal enemy of Marius. After he had been expelled by a new agrarian law, which he opposed, the faction now usurped the rights of the people, and maintained them by force in the comitia, till at the new consular election, there was a great rising against it on the part of all the well disposed citizens, now favored by Marius himself; and Saturninus and Glaucias, besieged in the Capitol, were obliged to surrender, and were executed. —A consequence of these events was the recal of Metellus from his voluntary exile 99, even contrary to the will of Marius, who withdrew to Asia.

11. The few years of quiet, that Rome^{98 to} now enjoyed, brought to maturity much good^{91.} and evil, the seeds of which had been before disseminated. While eloquence, now beginning to flourish, was exerted by a M. Antonius, L. Crassus, etc. in the public processes (Quaestiones) against the oppressors of the provinces; and highminded individuals endeavored to heal the wounds of Si-

cily, Asia and other provinces, by a better administration, the power of the *ordo equestris* at that time became a new and abundant source of abuses. Since, besides a seat in the *judicia*, which had been conferred upon them by C. Gracchus, they had also become the farmers of the public revenues, and consequently collected the public revenues in the provinces, they were able, not only easily to oppose every provincial reform, which was attempted, but even at Rome to keep the senate in dependence. The contest which now arose between them and the senate, respecting the *judicia*, was one of the most pernicious for the republic; since the *judicia* were misused by it, for the gratification of private hatred and even for the expulsion of the greatest men. The equestrian order was, indeed, half deprived of its seat in them by the tribune M. Livius Drusus, the younger; but the manner, in which he effected this, again unfortunately blew into a flame the fire, which, since the time of the Gracchi, had been burning under the ashes.

Acquisition of Cyrene, by the will of C. Apion 97, which however preserved its independence, although probably by the payment of a tribute.—A cessation was produced of the contests between the kings of Asia Minor by Sulla, the praetor 92. (See above p. 305.)

12. Insurrection of the nations of Italy, in order to obtain the privileges of Roman citizenship; and the bloody war with the allies, which ensued.
 91 to 88. Although the oppression of Rome had been preparing this war for a long time before, it was properly kindled by the arts of Roman demagogues, who, since the law of the younger Grac-

thus, had continually flattered these nations with the grant of the rights of citizens, in order to obtain a party among them. But it was soon seen, that the allies themselves were not without leaders, capable of projecting great plans and of executing them with energy. Italy was to form one republic, and instead of Rome, Corfinium was to be its capital. And Rome could only save herself, by extending, gradually however, to the allies all the privileges of citizenship.

Since the commotions of the Gracchi, great numbers of the allies in the pay of the demagogues, had always been pouring into Rome ; and the *lex Licinia Mucia* in 95, which removed these from the city was the occasion of the revolt. Since this time, conspiracies had commenced among these nations and increased without interruption to such a maturity, that the negligence of Rome is to be explained only by the rage of party, which had been yet more inflamed by the *lex Varia* 91, against the promoters of the insurrection. The murder of the tribune *Livius Drusus* 91, a man of very doubtful character, brought the matter to a rupture. In the alliance, were the *Marsi*, *Picentes*, *Peligni*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Samnites*, (who then played a leading part), the *Hirpini*, *Apuli* and *Lucani*.—In this war, which was the more bloody, as the single battles and sieges, especially of the Roman colonies, were more frequent, we find on the side of Rome, the illustrious names of *Cn. Pompeius* (the father), *L. Cato*, *Marius*, and above all of *Sulla* ; among the general leaders of the allies, the names of *Pompadius*, *C. Papius* etc.—Grant of the privileges of citizenship, first to the *Latini*, *Umbri*, etc. whose fidelity had remained unimpaired, by the *lex Julia* 91 ; afterwards, gradually, to the others also, by the *lex Plotia*. Some however still remained in arms.

Heyne de belli socialis causis et eventu in *Opusc. T. III.*

13. The war now brought to a conclusion, produced an essential change in the constitution, since Rome no longer remained as formerly, the exclusive head of the whole state; and although the new citizens were enrolled into eight tribes only, the influence on the comitia must have soon become perceptible, since they were so easily to be made use of for factions. Besides, the long fostered hatred between Marius and Sulla had increased during this war, in proportion as the influence of Sulla had risen, and that of Marius declined. Nothing was wanting but an opportunity, such as was afforded by the Pontic war, which now breaks out for the first time, to stir up a civil war, which menaced the annihilation of Roman liberty.

38. 14. Coalition of Marius with Sulpitius, the tribune, in order to gain by means of this faction the supreme command, already conferred on Sulla, the consul, by the senate. Easily as Sulla, at the head of his army, of which he was sure, achieved the expulsion of the chiefs of the faction, he appears not to have known that this was not enough to annihilate the faction itself. However judicious his other measures were, yet the elevation of Cinna to the consulship, was an error of policy, for which Italy was obliged to suffer yet more severely than himself. How much blood would have been spared, had not Sulla, at that unseasonable time, aspired to popularity.

Proposal of Sulpitius for a proportionate distribution of the new citizens and freedmen through all the tribes, in order to form of them a faction of his own, which transfers the supreme command to Marius, by a popular resolve ob-

tained by force.—March of Sulla upon Rome, and expulsion of Marius, who escapes to Africa after having met with adventures almost incredible, and is proscribed with his son and ten of his adherents.—Restoration of the power of the senate, and its vacancies filled by 300 knights. Sulla, after having permitted his friend C. Octavius, and his enemy L. Cinna, to be elected consuls, hastens to Greece.

15. The first war with Mithridates the Great 89 to 85.
 was victoriously waged in Greece by Sulla
 against the generals of the king, until, with a restoration of all conquests, he confined himself to his hereditary kingdom. If Rome had witnessed, since the time of Hannibal, no such enemy as the king of Pontus, who, in the course of a few months, master of all Asia Minor, Macedonia and Greece, was able to threaten Italy itself, the war, on the side of Rome, must have been of a nature entirely different from all preceding wars, because Sulla, after the victory of the opposite party, outlawed at Rome, was obliged to carry it on with his own resources and his own army. The unhappy countries, that were the theatre of the contest, felt this as severely during the war, as Italy was obliged to do afterwards.

Beginning of the war by Mithridates, even before the end of that with the allies 89, by his making himself master of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. He was rendered no less formidable by his alliances with the nations along the Danube, and by his naval forces, than by his land forces; and the exasperation of the Asiatics against Rome facilitated his undertakings.—Double victory over Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and the Roman general, M. Aquilius. The conquest of all Asia Minor, the island Rhodes alone excepted, was the consequence of this victory. Murder of all Roman

citizens in the cities of Asia Minor.—The royal army crossed over to Greece under the command of Archelaus, where Athens becomes the principal scene of arms, in 88.—Siege and final conquest of the unhappy Athens by Sulla, 1st March 87.—Repeated great defeats of the army of Mithridates under Archelaus at Chalcis, and afterwards at Archomenus by Sulla 86, whose plans usually aimed at the total annihilation of his enemies.—Negotiations of peace were begun by Archelaus, but not terminated till a personal interview between Sulla and Mithridates 85. But the opposite party in Rome had already sent forward a new army to Asia Minor both against Sulla and Mithridates, with L. Valerius Flaccus as general, who was assassinated by his lieutenant, Fimbria. Fimbria obtained advantages over the king, but, being afterwards blocked up by Sulla, took his own life.—By the licentiousness of the army, which Sulla dared not restrain, by the immense contributions, which he exacted in Asia Minor, after the peace, for carrying on the Italian war, and by the piracies, which arose from the fleets of the king, that had been let loose, these unhappy countries, and especially the wealthy cities, were almost ruined.

16. But during this war a revolution was taking place in Rome, which not only subverted the order restored by Sulla, but also, by the victory of the democratic faction under Cinna and Marius, generated a wild anarchy of the mob, which was rendered yet worse by the death of Marius, that occurred somewhat too late for Rome, since even their own leaders were no longer able to restrain the riotous partizans. Fearful as was the prospect of the return of the proscribed Sulla, yet he was the only remaining hope of all those, who belonged neither to the populace, nor to the party of its leaders.

Insurrection of Cinna, at the impulse of the exiles, soon after the departure of Sulla, while he attempts to form a party, by the distribution of the new citizens through all the tribes. But he was expelled from Rome by C. Octavius, at the head of the senate and the old citizens, and deposed from the consulship 87. He soon however collects a powerful army in Campania and recalls Marius from exile.—Capture and pillage of Rome, subdued by famine; and horrible massacre, after which Marius and Cinna appoint themselves consuls, and Sulla is proscribed.—Death of Marius 13th Jan. 86, whom C. Papirius Carbo succeeded in the consulship.—The mediation of the senate could be of no benefit, since the leaders of the two parties saw their only chance of safety in the utter destruction of their opponents. The murder of Cinna by his own soldiers in 84 completely deprived the ruling faction of a common head. Neither the timid Carbo, although he remained sole consul, nor the unskilful Norbanus, nor the youth C. Marius (the son) possessed sufficient personal authority to supply this want; and Sertorius left Italy at the right time, to kindle a new flame in Spain.

17. Sulla's return to Italy, and terrible civil war, which was first terminated after the anni-^{83.}hilation of the democratic faction by his elevation to the office of perpetual dictator. Although his enemies were so far superior to him in number, yet their party possessed so little internal solidity, that he and his veterans could hardly fail to achieve the victory. During the war, those who fell its victims were principally the Italian nations, that had been of the party of Marius, whom he slaughtered to make way for settlements for his own soldiers; and not till after the victory, was Rome compelled to feel the horrors of the

new revolution. Sulla's proscription, which was, properly, directed against his enemies only, was the signal for a universal massacre, because every one sought, as an opportunity was now offered, to free himself of his own enemies; and avarice was a yet more efficient motive than revenge. Who in those days of horror in Italy was sure of his life or of his property?—And yet if we recall to mind the deep corruption, that prevailed during the former government of the mob, and consider how much was done without Sulla's knowledge, and how much he was obliged to do to satisfy his army, it is difficult to say how far he is obnoxious to the charge of wanton cruelty.

Immediately after Sulla's landing, a victory over Norbanus ensued, and the army of Cs. Scipio was gained by bribery 82.—While almost all men of consequence declared themselves for Sulla, and the young Pompey led to him his self-acquired army, his cause gained as much in consequence, as he himself in power.—Victory at Sacriportum over Marius the younger, who throws himself into Praeneste and is there besieged.—But the first decisive battle was that, which took place before the gates of Rome with the army of the Samnites under Telesinus, of which battle the fall of Praeneste and the capture of Rome were the results. After the prescription which ensued, Sulla is appointed perpetual dictator, while he confirms his power in Rome by the emancipation of 10,000 of the slaves of those proscribed, and in Italy, by the colonies of his veterans, founded at the expense of his enemies.

18. Great reform in the constitution during the
 81 to two years' dictatorship of Sulla. The aris-
 79. tocracy of the senate, which he supplied
 from the knights, was again restored, and the sour-

ces were to be closed, from which the former democratic disorders had flowed. His voluntary abdication was probably caused by his natural indolence, which preferred a luxurious leisure to a laborious activity, so soon as his passions left him at rest. He nevertheless possessed the great advantage over Marius, that he was not the mere sport of his passions. Sulla's whole conduct, to the end of his part, was so consistent, that he has satisfactorily proved, he knew very well—what Marius never knew,—what he really wished for.

Internal regulations of Sulla by the *leges Corneliae*. 1. Law for restricting the tribunes, by depriving them of their legislative power. 2. Law respecting the manner of obtaining magistracies ;—the number of praetors was increased to eight, that of the quaestors to twenty. 3. Law *de majestate*, intended especially to restrict the governors of the provinces, and to abolish their oppressions. 4. Law *de judiciis*, by which the *judicia* were again committed to the senate. 5. Several laws referring to the police *de siccariis*, *de veneficiis* etc. for the maintenance of security and peace in Rome, upon which every thing depended. 6. The law *de civitate* deprived the *Latini* and several Italian cities and nations of their newly acquired rights of citizenship, although we are not minutely acquainted with its substance.—Foreign wars.—War in Africa against Cn. Domitius and king Hiarbas, the leaders of the democratic faction, triumphantly concluded by Pompey 80.—Second war with Mithridates, begun by Murena, to whom Archelaus had acceded, in part at his instigation, and in order to obtain a triumph, but at Sulla's order, terminated by a treaty 81.

19. Still the regulations of Sulla could not be permanent in Rome, because the evil lay too deep

to be eradicated by laws. A republic like Rome, containing no middle class, must, from its very nature, be liable to continual convulsions, which are the more violent in proportion to its greatness. Besides, the almost universal change of property had produced, during the last revolution, throughout all Italy a powerful party, which desired nothing more eagerly than a counter revolution. And how many young men, such as Lucullus, Crassus, and above all, Pompey, had commenced a career during the last commotions which they were not yet willing to terminate? It is not strange therefore, that immediately after the death of Sulla (†78) a consul, M. Aemilius Lepidus, should attempt to become a second Marius, which it required the firmness and courage of as great a citizen as his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus, to frustrate.

Attempt by Lepidus to subvert the constitution of Sulla 78. Repeated defeat before Rome and in Etruria by Catulus and Pompey 77, soon after which he died in Sardinia.

20. But the civil war rekindled by Sertorius in Spain, threatened to become much more dangerous for Rome, had the plan of the fanatic republicans succeeded to transfer it to Italy. Even Pompey 77 to 72. could hardly have prevented him from effecting his purpose after a contest of six years, but for the insignificance of the Roman emigrants around him, and his assassination by Perperna. The speedy termination of the war, after the fall of the leader, is incontestibly a far greater praise for himself than for the victor Pompey.

The strength of the party of Sertorius in Spain, did not consist merely in the remnants of the party of Marius,

which he attached to himself, but principally in Spaniards, especially the Lusitani, whose boundless confidence he was able to acquire.—Various fortune of the war between Metellus and Pompey, who was too weakly supported by Rome 77—75.—Negotiations of Sertorius with Mithridates the Great, and mutual embassies, unattended by any important results 75.—His assassination by Perperna 72.

21. But before the fire of war had been extinguished in the West, a yet greater one had been kindled in the East by Mithridates; another war, full as formidable as this, of the gladiators and slaves, had broken out in Italy itself; and whole fleets of pirates, who not only plundered the coasts of Italy, but also threatened the city itself with famine, compelled Rome to a naval war of altogether a peculiar nature. There was no want of alliances between these enemies; and colossal as was the power of the republic at that time, rich as she was in distinguished men, she might nevertheless have sunk under the storms, between 75—71, which burst upon her from all directions, could a close coalition have been effected between Sertorius, Spartacus and Mithridates. But the very great difficulties of communication at that time, without which perhaps a republic like Rome could never have been formed, were then, more than ever, of the greatest service to Rome.

The third war with Mithridates, occasioned by the will of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who devised his kingdom to Rome 75, (see above, p. 303) was carried on in Asia Minor, first by L. Lucullus 74—67, and afterwards by Pompey 66—64. An alliance had already been concluded in 75, between Mithridates, now better prepared for the con-

test, and Sertorius in Spain. But the raising of the siege of Cycicus by Lucullus 73, and the overthrow of the fleets of the king, one of which was sailing towards Italy, not only frustrated his whole plan of attack, but also led to the conquest of his own lands, in 72 and 71, although the king collected a new army, principally out of the northern nomadic nations.—Flight of Mithridates to Tigranes 71, who refuses indeed to deliver him up, but enters into no alliance with him till 70, while Arsaces XII. the Parthian, put off both parties with negotiations.—Victory of Lucullus over the allied kings at Tigranocerta in Armenia 69, and Artaxarta 68; but the mutinies, now beginning among his troops, not only prevented his further progress, but also allowed Mithridates to rise so rapidly, that in the years 68 and 67, he reconquered almost all his own territories; at the very time when Roman commissaries arrived to take possession of them. Lucullus, who had raised up a powerful party against himself in Rome, by his financial reform in Asia Minor, loses in consequence the chief command.

22. The war of the gladiators and slaves, which 73 to took place at the same time, was equally 71. dangerous to Rome by its neighborhood to the scene of contest, by the exasperated spirit, with which outraged humanity sought to avenge itself, and by the superior talents of a leader like Spartacus. Its termination was important for Rome, as it opened to M. Crassus the road to an influence, which all his wealth would never have acquired.

The war was begun in Campania 73, by a number of fugitive gladiators, who were formidably strengthened by a great insurrection of the slaves.—The defeat of four Roman generals 73 and 72, laid open to Spartacus the road to the Alps, in order to leave Italy; but the rapacity of his hordes, who wished to plunder Rome, draws him back.—Crassus

obtains the command, and saves Rome 72; upon which Spartacus retreats to the south of Italy, in order to transfer the war to Sicily with the aid of the pirates, by whom however he was deceived 71.—His final defeat on the Silarus 71.—Pompey, now returning from Spain, finds still an opportunity to snatch a branch from the laurel wreath, which properly belonged to Crassus; and the coldness, which thence arose during their consulship 70, threatened to become dangerous to the state.

23. The war against the pirates of Cilicia and Isauria was as important for Rome in its results, as it was of itself. It gave Pompey legally a power, such as no other Roman general had possessed; and after he had brought it to a quick and victorious termination, he gained thereby an opportunity of obtaining what was the real object of his wishes, the chief command against Mithridates in Asia.

The excessive increase of the power of the pirates resulted, partly from the negligence of the Roman marine, (see above p. 360), partly from the wars of Mithridates, who held them in pay, partly from the oppression of the Romans in Asia Minor. A war had been waged upon them from the year 75, by P. Servilius, whose victories, which procured him the surname of Isauricus, did them but little injury. They were now the most dangerous, not only on account of their piracies, but because they facilitated the communication between the other enemies of Rome, from Spain to Asia.—The new attack of the praetor, M. Antonius 71, was directed against Crete; it failed indeed of success, but it was the cause which led to the attack of Crete, hitherto independent, by Metellus 68, and its change 67 into a Roman province.—Pompey obtains the command against them, with extended power from the tribune Gabinius, and finished the war in forty days 67.

24. After the overthrow of so many enemies, Mithridates yet remained. In this case too, it was the fortune of Pompey to finish a war already almost terminated; for, even with his last advantages, Mithridates could never perfectly recover from his defeats. His fall raised indeed the power of the Romans in Asia Minor to its highest summit; but it also made them the neighbors of the Parthians.

Pompey obtains the command against Mithridates, with yet greater concessions of power, by means of the tribune Manilius (*lex Manilia*), notwithstanding the opposition of Catulus 67.—His nocturnal victory on the Euphrates 66.—Overthrow of Tigranes, while Mithridates escapes to the Crimea 65, and from thence seeks to renew the war.—Expedition of Pompey into the Caucasian countries 65, whence he proceeds to Syria. The desertion of his son Phraates forces Mithridates to commit suicide 63.—Regulation of the affairs of Asia by Pompey. Besides the ancient province Asia, the countries on the southern coast, Bithynia and the greater part of Paphlagonia and Pontus were made a Roman province under the name of Bithynia, the countries on the Southern coast, Cilicia and Pamphylia, under the name of Cilicia, and Phenicia and Syria under the name of Syria. On the other hand Tigranes still retained Great Armenia, Ariobarzanes Cappadocia, Pharnaces the Bosphorus, and Hyrcanus Judaea, (see above p. 321); and some small districts were granted to other petty princes; all of whom remained dependent on Rome.—The Thracian tribes also were conquered, for the first time, during the war with Mithridates by Sulla 85. Since this time, the power of these nations was broken by the pro-consuls of Macedonia, by Appius, for instance, in 77, by Curio, who was the first that penetrated to the Danube 75—73, but principally by M. Lucullus 71, while his brother was fighting in Asia. Both

the security of Macedonia, and the bold plans of Mithridates rendered this necessary.

25. The fall of Mithridates brought the republic to the height of its power; no foreign enemy could now become formidable. But during the war, its interior had witnessed some important revolutions. The aristocratic constitution of Sulla had been abolished by Pompey, in its leading points, by the restoration of the tribunitial power, because he and other great men could attain their objects only by the aid of tribunes. It was thus, that Pompey acquired his unlimited authority in his two last wars, during which the continuance of the republic was but precarious. It was singularly fortunate for Rome, that a part of the vanity of Pompey consisted in standing at its head, while he avoided the appearance of an oppressor.

Repeated attempts to annul the constitution of Sulla by the tribune Sicinius, frustrated by the senate 76. But Opius obtained in 75, that the tribuneship should not exclude a person from the higher offices of honor, and that the judicia should again be transferred to the knights. The attempt made by Licinius Macer 72 for a perfect restoration, could be defeated only for the moment; the perfect restoration was effected by Pompey and Crassus during their consulship 70.

26. The victory of the democratic party, since some too powerful individuals turned it to their own advantage, nevertheless led the way to an oligarchy, which, from the time of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, had become op-
70.
pressive for many. The conspiracy of Catiline, which was brought to maturity only after repeated

attempts, was designed to break this oligarchy, and to bring into power another much more dangerous faction, consisting partly of needy conspirators and prosecuted criminals, and partly of ambitious nobles. It occasioned a short civil war; but in return, it placed Cicero at the helm of state. How readily we forget his weaknesses and failings, when we consider the great virtues and merits of the man, who in many respects first gave to Rome an example of greatness in the toga.

First conspiracy of Catiline, in which even Crassus and Caesar are said to have engaged 66, and the second 65, the former frustrated by accident, the latter by the death of Piso. But the third broke out in 64, after Catiline had failed of obtaining the consulship, both in Rome, where it was suppressed without having recourse to arms, merely by the vigilance and severity of Cicero 63, and in Etruria, where it was defeated by a victory of Antonius, the pro-consul 62, over Catiline himself, who fell in the battle.

27. But the influence which the Asiatic wars, now brought to a termination, had upon Rome, could not be checked by the suppression of this conspiracy. The luxury of the East, joined however to Grecian taste, which the example of Lucullus had introduced among the nobles; the very great enrichment of the treasury by Pompey; the instances of the unlimited power, which single citizens had already exercised; the purchase of the magistracies by individuals like Verres, that they might, after having squandered millions, again enrich themselves in the provinces; the claims of the soldiers on their generals, and the facility with which a person might form an army,

if he possessed wealth enough to pay it, must have forboded new and approaching storms ; even if the preceding commotions in this colossal republic, in which virtue and crime, like riches and power, must from this time be measured by a large standard, had not found men of colossal character, who, like Cato, stemmed alone the torrent of revolution, and were strong enough to retard it for a time ; or, like Pompey, by their fortune and the art of gaining influence, soared to an elevation never attained by the citizen of a republic ; or, like Crassus, “ that called him only rich, who could maintain an army from his own resources,” rested their claims on their wealth ; or finally, like the now aspiring Caesar, whose boundless ambition was surpassed only by his energy and talents, “ would rather be the first in a village than the second in Rome.”—The return of Pompey from Asia, which menaced the senate with a new dictatorship, appeared to be necessarily a decisive moment.

Attempt by Pompey, through the tribune Metellus Nepos, to return to Rome at the head of his army ; frustrated by Cato’s firmness 62.

28. The arrival of Pompey in Rome revived the contest of the senate against his excessive power, although he dismissed his army at his landing. The principal point of contest was the ratification of the regulations that he had established in Asia, which was opposed by the leading men of the senate, Cato, the two Metelli and Lucullus ; and Pompey was induced to join the popular party, in order thus to attain his object ; till Caesar’s re-

60. turn from his province Lusitania gave an entirely different turn to the matter.

29. Close alliance between Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, concluded as a secret combination, 60. through Caesar's mediation. That which was the ultimate object of Pompey and Crassus, was to Caesar nothing more than a means for at- 59. taining his ulterior views. His consulship, —already a kind of dictatorship, under the mask of the highest devotedness to the people—opened the road to them, when by obtaining the two Gauls and Illyria as provinces, for five years, he gained a wide field for conquest and an opportunity to form an army of his own.

Caesar's stay and expeditions in Gaul, from the spring of 58 to the end of the year 50. By preventing the migration of the Helvetii and expelling the Germans under Ariovistus from Gaul 58, Caesar gained an opportunity of interfering in the internal concerns of Gaul, and then conquering it, which was in fact accomplished by the defeat of the Belgii 57, and the Aquitani 56 ; so that Caesar was enabled to make repeated incursions into Britain 55 and 54, and into Germany 55 and 53. But the frequent rebellions of the Gauls 53—51, especially under Vercingetorix 52, occasioned wars no less violent than those, that had been caused by their first conquest. The ancient policy of Rome was still preserved in these wars. The Galli were subjected, while the Romans played the part of their deliverers ; and found allies in the country itself, in the Aedui, Allobroges, etc.

30. In order that the power of the triumvirate might be firmly established before Caesar's departure, use was made of the tribune Clodius to remove the heads of the senate, Cato and Cicero.

by committing a province to the former and by the banishment of Cicero.—But they were soon compelled to find, that so bold a leader of the populace as Clodius, would not long permit himself to be used as a mere machine. Since he had grown, after Caesar's departure, more powerful than the triumvirs themselves, Pompey was compelled, for his own safety, to permit Cicero to be recalled from exile, which was effected by Milo, the tribune, amidst the most tumultuous scenes. Still the power of Clodius was but little broken, and Pompey, to close the source of disorders and to revive his popularity, was appointed the *præfectus annonæ*.

Exile of Cicero, which he passed mostly in Macedonia, from April 58 to the 4th Sept. 57.—Rebellion of Ptolemy of Cyprus; and the island was reduced to a Roman province, by Cato, at the proposal of Clodius 57. (See above p. 271). The private hatred of Clodius and the riches of the king were the reasons why this lot fell particularly to him.

Middleton Life of Cicero. This work is almost a complete history of Rome during the age of Cicero, with an excessive predilection for him.

31. Beginning of the jealousy between the triumvirs, because Caesar even during his absence was able to keep his party in such activity, that Pompey and Crassus believed that the preservation of their consequence required similar concessions to them, as had been made to Caesar. 56.
But the need of mutual assistance again restored harmony, by means of the treaty of Lucca.

Conditions of the treaty. In favor of Caesar, the prolongation of his office as governor, for five more years. In favor of Pompey and Crassus the consulship for the following year ; to the former, the provinces Spain and Africa were given ; to the latter Syria, in order to carry on a war against the Parthians.—Secret as the conditions were kept, the alliance itself of the triumvirs no longer remained a secret.

55. 32. Second consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Only under the greatest commotions could they accomplish their purposes ; much depended therefore on which party first gained and preserved possession of the forum. The resistance which they met with from the inflexible Cato, whose rough virtue alone furnished him with the means of obtaining a strong party, proves how much we should err in pronouncing the power of the triumvirs at that time absolute, and the nation utterly corrupted.

An unauthorized expedition was undertaken by Crassus against the Parthians in 54. But so far from gathering laurels equal to those of Caesar, he with almost his whole army perished in Mesopotamia 53 ; and the Parthians acquired a powerful ascendancy in Asia. (See above p. 311.)

33. While the triumvirate was thus reduced to a combination of two, the exertions of Pompey, who remained at Rome, while his provinces were administered by legates, in the midst of the continued internal commotions, which he was enabled by his cunning to keep in action, evidently aimed at becoming the acknowledged head of the senate and republic. The idea, that a dictator was
53. necessary, had become more and more common, during the anarchy of eight months, in which

no election of consuls could be effected; and although this design was frustrated by Cato, Pompey succeeded, after the great tumult occasioned by the murder of Clodius by Milo, in being chosen sole consul, an office conferring power similar to that of the dictator.

The consulship of Pompey 52. After seven months, he accepts as colleague Metellus Scipio his father in law.—The possession of his provinces was prolonged to him, now the principal seat of the republican party for five years.

34. From this time the civil war was the more inevitable, that it was desired not only by the heads of the parties, but by the parties themselves. The approaching period, when Caesar's command was to cease, was necessarily the decisive moment. Could it be expected that the conqueror of Gaul would retire into private life, while his opponent remained at the head of the republic? The steps made by both parties towards a reconciliation, were only taken because each wished to avoid the appearance of being the author of the war. But unfortunately Pompey was never acquainted with the character of his adversary, who performed every thing himself, every thing wholly, and every thing alone. He was so well pleased with the favorable light in which he now stood as defender of the republic, that he forgot whatever was necessary for its defence; while Caesar avoided nothing more carefully than the semblance of usurpation. He wished to be the friend, the protector of the people against the encroachments of its enemy.

The contest was begun by the demand of Caesar to be permitted to stand as candidate for the consulship, during his absence 52.—While Caesar increases his party in Rome by the most unlimited bribery, he prevails upon the tribunes and among them in particular the great speaker C. Curio, (whom he thought not too dearly purchased at a million and a half), to give a turn advantageous for him, to the proposal now brought into consideration, for resigning his command and the appointment of a successor 51, by a similar proposal with respect to Pompey.—Repeated offers were made on both sides for the sake of show, till the decree of the senate 7th of Jan. 49, by which Caesar was ordered to “dismiss his army, under the penalty of being declared an enemy of the republic,” without respect to the intercession of the tribunes, whose flight to him gave his cause the appearance of being the popular one.—Caesar’s passage over the Rubicon, the boundary of his province.

35. The civil war which now broke out, spread itself the more rapidly over all the countries of the Roman state, because Pompey, unable to maintain Italy, not only made Greece the principal seat of war, but held Spain also and Africa occupied by armies under his lieutenants; and Caesar by the judicious distribution of his legions was present every where, without exciting any preceding suspicion. To this was added through accidental circumstances, the war in Alexandria and in Pontus, and thus it was not one war, but rather a series of
 49 to six wars, all of which, Caesar, within five
 45. years, flying from one quarter of the world to another with his legions, carried on in person and terminated victoriously.

Italy was quickly occupied in sixty days, the forces of Domitius having surrendered at Corfinium. This country with

Sicily and Sardinia, submits to Caesar almost without resistance, while Pompey crosses over to Greece, with his party and troops.—Caesar's first expedition to Spain against Afranius and Petreius, the generals of Pompey, who are compelled to surrender; but on the other hand loss of the legions under Curio in Africa.—By December 49, Caesar is again in Italy, and is appointed dictator; but he exchanges the dignity for the consulship.—Rapid passage, with the ships collected in the mean time, to Greece 4th Jan. 48. Disastrous combat at Dyrrhachium.—The war was now transferred to Thessaly and a decisive battle took place at Pharsalus, 20th July 48, after which Pompey flies to Alexandria, where he is put to death after his landing. Three days after him Caesar also lands at Alexandria.

36. Caesar is again appointed dictator, after the battle at Pharsalus, with the greatest privileges. But the overthrow of Pompey had not yet annihilated his party; and the Alexandrine war of six months and the expedition against Pharnaces in Pontus, gave it time again to collect its forces both in Africa under Cato and in Spain under the sons of Pompey.

During the Alexandrian war, (see above page 272) and the expedition against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, (who had seized the kingdom of his father, but was defeated by Caesar 47 immediately after his arrival), great disturbance had been caused in Rome by the imitator of Clodius, Dolabella, the tribune, by the promise of abolishing debt (*novae tabulae*) notwithstanding the military force of M. Antony, whom Caesar had despatched to Rome as *magister equitum*, because the proposal was favored from the very beginning by the sensual profligate himself. These disturbances ceased indeed at Caesar's return to Rome, December 47, but he was compelled in January 46 to hasten to Africa, both by

the increase of the opposite party there, and by an insurrection among his own soldiers.—Victory at Thapsus over Scipio and Juba ; after which Cato of Utica puts himself to death. Numidia the kingdom of Juba becomes a Roman province. After the return of Caesar to Rome in June, he was unable to stay there more than four months, because he was called to Spain to terminate the dangerous contest against the two sons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus.—Destructive battle at Munda in March 45 ; after which Cneius is put to death, but Sextus escapes to the Celtiberi.

37. Certain as it is, that Caesar did not, like Sulla, subjugate the republic, in order to restore it again, it is impossible to determine what were the ultimate views of the childless usurper, who seems to have been led and impelled, during his whole career, till his last moments, by no other motive than a love of sway, which arose directly from the consciousness of his superior powers, and permitted itself every means for its gratification. The time of his dictatorship was too short and too much interrupted by wars to allow him to develope his more remote projects. He sought to found his authority on popularity, and although his army was necessarily his main support, its favor was sought by no new proscription. To restore order to the distracted condition of Italy and especially of the capital, was of course his first occupation, which was to be followed by an expedition against the
⁴⁴ too great power of the Parthians. But his
^{15th} attempt to obtain the diadem seems to place
Feb. it beyond doubt, that he wished to introduce a formal monarchy. But the annihilation of the form of the republic was incontestably more dangerous. than the annihilation of the republic itself.

The honors and privileges, conferred upon Caesar by the senate, were the following ; after the battle of Pharsalus, he was appointed dictator for one year and consul for five ; he obtained the potestas tribunicia, and also the right over peace and war, the exclusive right of the comitia (the tribunes alone excepted), and he also acquired the power of conferring the provinces. His dictatorship was renewed 47, then for ten years, and at last 45, together with the *præfectura morum*, conferred upon him for life, with the title *imperator*. If Caesar became thereby master of the republic, this did not appear to be inconsistent with republican forms.

38. Conspiracy against Caesar, planned by 44
M. Brutus and Cassius, and resulting in the 15th
murder of Caesar. Men as enthusiastic as March
the leaders of this conspiracy were, are easily attracted towards each other ; and it was entirely in character, that the thoughts of no one of them had extended beyond the deed. The assassination of Caesar was a great misfortune for Rome. Experience soon proved that the republic could not be restored by it ; his life would probably have saved the state from those sufferings, which were now inevitable on its transition to a monarchy.

We are still without a worthy biography of the man, who has been in modern times as immoderately praised, as Alexander has been undervalued. As generals and conquerors both were equally great, and both equally weak ; as men, the Macedonian is distinguished, in his better moments, which Caesar never had ; of those great political ideas, which we find developed in the conduct of Alexander, Caesar exhibits none ; he knew better than any body else, how to acquire power, but understood the art of confirming it in a less degree.

Histoire de la vie de Jules Caesar par Mr. De Bury. Paris. 1758. 2 Voll. 8 vo.

Leben des C. Julius Caesar von A. G. Meissner, fortgesetzt von J. Ch. L. Haken. 1811. 4 parts.—Thus far the best.

39. Notwithstanding the amnesty, which was at first declared, the funeral of Caesar soon showed, that his generals, M. Antony and M. Lepidus, the leaders of the party after Caesar's fall, desired nothing less; and the arrival of the grandson of Caesar's sister, C. Octavius, whom Caesar had adopted in his will, (from this time Caesar Octavianus,) rendered the relations still more complicated, as every one labored for himself, and Antony, in particular, pushed himself forward to Caesar's place. Great as the attempts were to win the people, it was in reality the legions which decided; and their accession depended on the possession of the provinces. It is, therefore, not strange, that the contest respecting them, with an effort to exclude the murderers of Caesar from sharing them, now became the chief object, which in a few months led to a civil war.

At the time of the murder of Caesar M. Antony was the actual consul, and Dolabella the consul designatus; M. Lepidus, magister equitum; M. Brutus and Cassius, both praetors, (the first: praetor urbanus); to the former Caesar had granted Macedonia, to the latter Syria as provinces, which the senate confirmed to them; to Lepidus further Gaul was promised, to D. Brutus hither Gaul.—But soon after the murder of Caesar, Antony by a decree of the people caused Macedonia to be assigned to himself, and Syria to Dolabella, his present colleague, with whom he had formed a close union; in return for which the senate promised Brutus and Cassius, to whom the important care of providing the city with its supplies had been committed,

that the former should have Cyrene, the latter Crete. But soon after (1 Jan. 44) Antony desired by a new exchange Cisalpine Gaul for himself, and Macedonia for his brother C. Antony, both of which he obtained from the people.

40. While M. Antony endeavors by main force to possess himself of hither Gaul, which D. Brutus, who throws himself into Mutina, will not yield to him, a short but very bloody civil war arises; (*bellum Mutinense*). By the eloquence of Cicero Antony is declared an enemy of the state; and the two new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa with Caesar Octavian are sent against him. The defeated Antony was indeed compelled to retire across the Alps to Lepidus; but as both consuls had fallen, the young Octavian boldly demanded and gained the consulship by his legions, and showed the defenceless senate, how little its decrees could do towards restoring the republic. The custom, soon introduced, of the *magistratus suffecti* already showed, that nothing but the shadow of a republic remained.

The war before Mutina began in Dec. 44, and ended with the overthrow of Antony at Mutina 14 April 43.—Octavian obtained the consulship 22d. Sept.

41. Octavian, deserting the party of the senate, enters into secret negotiation with Antony and Lepidus, of which the consequence after the meeting at Bononia is a new actual triumvirate. Whilst the three, under the title of *triumviri reipublicae constituendae*, declare themselves masters of the republic for five years and distribute among themselves the provinces at their pleasure, their chief object is the annihilation of the repub-

lican party. The means of doing this were, a new proscription in Rome itself, and a declaration of war against the murderers of Caesar.

The triumvirate was formed 27 Nov. 53, upon which, immediately after the entry of the triumvirs into Rome, the massacre of the proscribed began, extending itself over all Italy, and reaching even Cicero, who fell 7 Dec.—The motives, which led to the new proscription, are not to be sought in private hatred only, but as much and perhaps in a greater degree in the necessity, partly of extorting money for conducting the impending war, and partly to satisfy the demands of the legions.—When did a nation see a reign of terror like this, under which it was even forbidden to weep?

42. The impending civil war was therefore a struggle between the members of the oligarchy and the defenders of the republic. The Roman world was divided as it were between the two parties; the former were in possession of Italy and the western provinces, while the heads of the latter had acquired the eastern countries, and the naval power of S. Pompey seemed to secure to them the dominion of the sea.

M. Brutus in the autumn of 44 had come into possession of his province Macedonia; but Cassius, to get possession of Syria, had to make war on Dolabella, who, by murdering Trebonius, the proconsul of Asia, had acquired Asia; but had for that reason been declared an enemy by the senate, and, being blocked up by Cassius in Laodicea, had been brought to such a state, that he killed himself, 5th June 43. From that time Cassius and Brutus were masters of all the oriental provinces, at whose cost they made their preparations, not without great oppressions.—S. Pompey, after the overthrow at Munda 45, had remained incognito in Spain; then became the head of freebooters; soon after grew to be very powerful; till after Caesar's death the senate made him

the naval commander. Upon this, proceeding from Spain after the formation of the triumvirate, he gained possession of Sicily, and soon afterwards of Sardinia and Corsica. It was a great gain for the triumvirs, that S. Pompey did but partially know how to use his power and his success.

43. Macedonia was the theatre of the new civil war, and together with a good cause, a superiority of talents as well as of naval and military force, seemed to assure the victory to Brutus and Cassius. But in the decisive days at Philippi accident sported in a wonderful manner; and with the two leaders fell the two pillars of the republic.

Two battles at Philippi towards the end of the year 42, and voluntary death of Cassius after the first, and of Brutus after the second battle.

Plutarchi Vita Bruti; compiled from the accounts of eye-witnesses.

44. The history of the remaining eleven years to the battle of Actium, is almost nothing but a history of the contests of the members of the oligarchy among themselves. The most crafty finally prevailed, for M. Antony possessed Caesar's sensuality, but not his genius; and the unimportant Lepidus soon became the sacrifice of his vanity and weakness. Whilst Antony went to Asia to regulate the oriental provinces, and proceeded from thence with Cleopatra to Alexandria, Octavian returned to Rome. But the dearth, which prevailed in Rome in consequence of the blockade by S. Pompey; the distress, extended through all Italy by dividing among the veterans the lands that had been taken by force; and the insatiable avarice of those veterans, soon made his situation

much more dangerous than it had been before the war; and the hatred of the wild Fulvia, Antony's

41. wife, who entered into a union with her brother-in-law the consul L. Antonius, excited towards the close of the year a civil war in Italy, that was terminated by the surrender and burning of Perusium, into which L. Antony had thrown himself, and which was reduced by famine.

The bellum Perusinum lasted from the end of 41 to April 40.

45. Meantime this war had very nearly provoked a greater one, for M. Antony, already an enemy of Octavian's, came over to Italy to assist his brother, in the intent of forming an union with S.

40. Pompey against Octavian. Yet for the welfare of the world a peace was mediated, not only between the triumvirs, but also, to relieve the scarcity in Rome, with S. Pompey, although with him only for a short time.

The chief condition of peace between the triumvirs was a new division of the provinces, in which the city Scodra in Illyria is fixed upon as boundary. All the eastern provinces fell to Antony, the western to Octavian, Africa to Lepidus; Italy remained common to all. The marriage of Antony and Octavia, for Fulvia had died, was to confirm the union. —In the peace with S. Pompey at Misenum, he retained the islands Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and they promised him Achaia.

46. But Pompey could not but soon feel, that a union between him and the triumvirs must end with his downfall; and the war, which he
38. soon renewed, and which Octavian was able
36. to terminate only by the genius of Agrippa was the more important, as it not only decid-

ed the destiny of Pompey, but also, by the ejection of Lepidus, changed the triumvirate into a duumvirate.

After the doubtful naval battle 38, and the building of new fleets, the plan was to attack Pompey 36 on all sides at once, for which purpose Lepidus came over from Africa, and Antony also sent ships.—Final defeat of the fleet of Pompey, who himself escapes to Asia, and there perishes.—While Lepidus is desirous of appropriating Sicily to himself, Octavian gains his troops, and he is obliged to recede from the triumvirate.

47. The foreign wars, which Octavius as well as Antony conducted in the next years, deferred for some time the breaking out of jealousy between them. Whilst Octavian, to give employment to his unquiet legions, subdued the nations in Dalmatia and Pannonia, Antony undertook from Egypt his expeditions against the too powerful Parthians and their neighbors. But whilst he offended Rome by his conduct in these wars, he himself put arms in the hands of his adversary ; and his formal separation from Octavia dissolved the only bond, which had thus far existed between the two masters of the world.

After his first residence in Alexandria 41, Antony went 40 to Italy, and, after the peace with Octavian, with his new wife Octavia to Greece, where he remained till 37. Although his lieutenant Ventidius successfully resisted the Parthians who had invaded Syria (see p. 312), Antony determined himself to conduct an expedition against them, and actually did so 36. But although Antony in connexion with king Artavasdes (whom he, however, soon accused of treachery) endeavored to penetrate through Armenia and Media into the Parthian territories, in a different road than

that pursued by Crassus, he still was very near meeting the fate of Crassus, and the expedition failed entirely. For this he avenged himself on Artavesdes ; whom he got into his hands 34 on his new expedition, and of whose kingdom he took possession. After his triumphant entry into Alexandria he gave away this as well as other territories to Cleopatra and her children (page 274). Upon this his plan is, in connection with the king of Media, to renew the expedition against the Parthians 33 ; but, at Cleopatra's instance, sends word to Octavia, who had journeyed towards him, and was already at Athens, to return. From that time Antony and Octavian criminated each other before the senate ; till finally war is declared in Rome, yet at first only against Cleopatra.

48. The theatre of the war was once more in Greece ; and although the power of Antony was greater, it was still a great advantage for Octavian, that he had the appearance of right on his side.

31. The naval battle near Actium was decisive for
 2 Sept. Octavian, though he could not himself have believed it, had not Antony deserted his fleet and army, which last surrendered to the victor without a blow. The subsequent taking of Egypt (see above p. 274), which was made a province, and

30. the death of Cleopatra and Antony terminated the war, and made Octavian the sole head of the republic.

The history of the last period of Antony, not written till after his fall, under the rule of his enemies, must be considered with the distrust, which every such history demands. It furnished materials for the writers of anecdotes. The history of Cleopatra rests in part on the accounts of her physician Olympus, which Plutarch consulted.

FOURTH PERIOD.

History of the Roman State as a Monarchy, till its fall in the West. 30 b. C.—A. D. 476.

Geographical preliminary information.—View of the Roman empire according to the provinces, and of the countries not Roman, with which Rome stood in connexion by wars or commerce.

The usual boundaries of the Roman empire, although it was sometimes for a season extended beyond them, were in this period in Europe the two great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube; in Asia the Euphrates, and the Syrian desert; in Africa likewise the sandy region. Thus it included the finest countries of the three continents round the Mediterranean sea.

European countries: 1. Spain (Hispania). Boundaries: On the E. the Pyrenees, on the S. N. and W. the Sea.—Chief rivers: the Minus (Minho), Durius (Duro), Tagus (Tago), Anas (Gaudiana), and Baetis (Guadalquivir), all which go into the Atlantic, and the Iberus (Ebro), which falls into the Mediterranean. Mountains: beside the Pyrenees, the chain of Idubeda, along the Iberus, Orospeida (Sierra Morena).—Division into three provinces. 1. Lusitania; boundaries: on the N. the Durius, on the S. the Anas. Chief nations: Lusitani, Turdetani. Chief place: Augusta Emerita. 2. Baetica; boundaries on the N. and W. the Anas, on the E. the mountain Orospeida. Chief nations: Turduli, Bastuli. Chief places: Corduba (Cordua),

Gades (Cadiz), Munda. 3. Tarraconensis, all the rest of Spain. Chief nations: Callaeci, Astures, Cantabri, Vascones on the N.; Celtiberi, Carpetani, Ilergetes in the interior; Indigetes, Cosetani and others on the Mediterranean. Chief places: Tarraco (Tarragona), Cartago Nova (Cartagena), Toletum (Toledo), Ilerda (Lerida); Saguntus and Numantia (Soria), had already been destroyed.—To Spain were counted the Balearian islands, Major (Majorca) and Minor (Minorca).

II. Gallia transalpina. Boundaries: on the W. the Pyrenees; on the E. the Rhine and a line drawn from its sources to the small river Varus, with this river; on the N. and S. the sea. Chief rivers: (Garumna) Garonne, Liger (Loire), Sequana (Seine) and Scaldis (Scheldt), which go into the ocean; the Rhodanus (Rhône), which received the Arar (the Saône), and goes to the Mediterranean; and the Mosella (Moselle) and Mosa (Maas), which flow into the Rhine. Mountains: beside the Alps, Mount Jura, Vogesus and Cebenna, (the Cevennes).—Division into four provinces. 1. Gallia Narbonensis or Braccata. Boundaries: on the W. the Pyrenees, E. the Varus, N. the Cevennes. Chief nations: Allobroges, Volcae, Salyes. Chief places: Narbo (Narbonne), Tolosa (Toulouse), Nemausus (Nîmes), Massilia (Marseilles), Vienna (Vienne). 2. Gallia Lugdunensis or Celtica. Boundaries: S. and W. the Liger, N. the Sequana, E. the Arar. Chief nations: Aedui, Lingones, Parisii, Cenomani, and others, all of the Celtic race. Chief places: Lugdunum, (Lyons), Lutetia Parisiorum (Paris), Alesia (Alise). 3. Gallia

Aquitania. Boundaries : S. the Pyrenees, N. and E. the Liger, Chief nations : Aquitani, (of the Iberian race) ; Pictones, Averni, and others of Celtic origin. Chief places : Clumberis, Burdegalia (Bordeaux). 4. **Gallia Belgica.** Boundaries : E. and N. the Rhine, W. the Arar, S. the Rhone, as far as Lugdunum ; so that it originally included the Rhine lands and Helvetia. Yet afterwards they were divided from it, under the name of Germania inferior and superior. Chief nations : Nervii, Bellovaci and others in the N., of Belgian origin, Treviri Ubii, of German ; Sequani, Helvetii in the interior, of Celtic origin. Chief places : Vesentio (Besançon), Verodunum (Verdun) &c. Along the Rhine, in Germania inferior : Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), in Germania superior : Moguntiacum (Mentz), and Argentoratum (Strassburg).

III. **Gallia Cisalpina or togata,** (Lombardy, see p. 326). But as the inhabitants under Caesar received the full rights of Roman citizenship, it was now considered as a part of Italy.

IV. **Sicilia ;** divided into Syracusae and Lilybaeum.

V. **Sardinia and Corsica.** See p. 330.

VI. **The Insulae Britannicae,** but of these only England and a part of Southern Scotland under the name of Britannia Romana became a province from the time of Nero. Chief rivers : Tamesis (Thames) and Sabrina (Severn). Chief places : Eboracum (York) in the northern, Londinum (London) in the southern part.—Into Scotland, Britannia Barbara or Caledonia, the Romans often

penetrated, but never conquered it entirely ; Hibernia, Ierne (Ireland) was visited by Roman merchants but not by Roman legions.

VII. The lands on the South bank of the Danube, which were subjected under Augustus and divided into the following provinces : Vindelicia. Boundaries : N. the Danube, E. the Aenus (Inn), W. Helvetia, S. Rhaetia. Chief nations : Vindelici, Brigantii and others. Chief places : Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), Brigantium (Bregenz). 2. Rhaetia. Boundaries : N. Vindelicia, E. the Inn and the Salza, S. the chain of the Alps from Lacus Verbanus (Lago Maggiore) to Belinzona ; W. Helvetia. Chief nation : Rhaeti. Chief places : Curia (Chur), Velvidena (Wiltén) and Tridentum (Trent). 3. Noricum. Boundaries : N. the Danube, W. the Aenus, E. mount Cetius (the Kalenberg), S. the Alpes Juliae and the Savus. Chief nation : Boii. Cities : Juva-vium (Salzburg), Bojodurum (Passau). 4. Pannonia superior. Boundaries : N. and E. the Danube, S. the Arabo (the Raab), W. mount Cetius. Cities : Vindobona (Vienna), Caruntum. 5. Pannonia inferior. Boundaries : N. the Arabo, E. the Danube, S. the Savus. Cities : Taurunum (Belgrade), Mursa (Essek) and Sirmium. 6. Moesia superior. Boundaries : N. the Danube, S. mount Scardus or Scodrus, W. Pannonia, E. the river Cebus (Ischia). Cities : Singidunum (Semelin) and Naissus (Nissa). 7. Moesia inferior. Boundaries : N. the Danube, W. the Cebus, S. the chain of Haemus, and E. the Pontus Euxinus. Cities : Odessus, Tomi.

VII. Illyricum. In the wider sense this name comprised all the countries, south of the Danube, from Rhaetia together with Dalmatia; but Illyricum proper embraces only the coast of the Adriatic from Istria in Italy to the river Drinus, and east to the Savus. Chief places : Salona, Epidaurus, (near the modern Ragusa), Scodra (Scutari.)

VIII. Macedonia. Boundaries : N. the chain of Scodrus, S. the Cambunian mountains, W. the Adriatic, E. the Aegean sea. Rivers : Nestus, Strymon and Haliacmon, which flow into the Aegean, and the Apsus and Aous, which empty into the Adriatic sea. Chief nations : Paeones in the N., Pieres and Mygdones in the S. Chief places : Pydna, Pella, Thessalonica, Philippi, with several Greek colonies, (see p. 166).—Dyrrhachium and Apollonia on the W. coast.

IX. Thracia, at first had kings of its own, though dependent. It was not made a province till the time of Claudius. Boundaries : N. the chain of Haemus, W. the Nestus, S. and E. the sea. River : Hebrus. Chief nations : Triballi, Bessi, and Odrysae. Cities : Byzantium, Apollonia, Beroea.

X. Achaia (Greece), see p. 112.

XI. On the north of the Danube Dacia was reduced by Trajan to a Roman province. Its boundaries : S. the Danube, W. the Tibiscus (Theiss), E. the Hierassus (Pruth), N. the Carpathian mountains. Chief nation : the Daci. Chief places : Ulpia Trajana and Tibiscum.

Asiatic provinces : I. Asia Minor contained these provinces : 1. Asia (see p. 300.). 2. Bithy-

nia, with Paphlagonia, and a part of Pontus. 3. Cilicia with Pisidia (see p. 17.). II. Syria with Phenicia. III. The island of Cyprus.—There were still kings, though dependent ones, in Judaea, (it became a province A. D. 44.), Commagene (a province A. D. 70 and like Judaea made a part of Syria), Cappadocia (province A. D. 17.). Pontus (entirely a province under Nero).—As free states there were still Rhodes and Samos (provinces A. D. 70), and Lycia (province A. D. 43.).—Beyond the Euphrates Armenia and Mesopotamia were made provinces by Trajan, but given up again by Hadrian.

African Provinces. I. Egypt (see p. 48.). II. Cyrenaica (48). III. Africa (see p. 48). Numidia (see p. 48.). Mauretania still had a king of its own, but in 42 was formally taken and divided into two provinces : 1. Mauretania Caesariensis ; Boundaries : E. the river Ampsagus, W. the river Mulucha. Chief places : Igilgilis and Caesarea. 2. Mauretania Tingitana from the river Mulucha to the Atlantic. Chief city : Tingis.

Principal neighboring lands. 1. Germania. Boundaries : S. the Danube, N. the sea, W. the Rhine, E. undefined, although the Vistula was often considered the limit on the E. Chief rivers : Danubius (Danube), Rhenus (Rhine), Albis (Elbe), Visurgis (Weser), Viadrus (Oder) and Vistula ; the Luppia (Lippe) and Amisia (Ems) are likewise often mentioned.—Mountains and forests : The Hercynian forest, a general name for the mountain forests especially of eastern Germany. —Melibocus (the Harz), Sudetus (the forest of

(Thuringia); the Teutoburgic forest in southern Westphalia, &c. A general political division in ancient Germany can as little be sought for, as cities; nothing beyond the places of residence of the chief tribes can be designated. Yet it must be observed 1. that these nations, especially since the second century, often changed their residence by migrating; 2. that the names of the chief tribes are often appellations of alliances of tribes. The chief tribes in the age of Augustus were in Northern Germany; the Batavi in Holland; the Frisii in Friesland; the Bructeri in Westphalia; the smaller and larger Chauci in the territory of Oldenburg and Bremen; the Cherusci (likewise the name of a confederacy) in Brunswick; the Catti in Hesse. In Southern (middle) Germany: the Hermunduri in Franconia; the Marcomanni in Bohemia. The Alemanni, (not the name of a single tribe, but of a confederacy) are not named till the third century; in the age of Augustus, they as well as generally the nations of eastern Germany, which only gradually became known, were included under the general name of Suevi.

The northern countries of Europe were considered as islands in the German Ocean, and therefore as belonging to Germany; as Scandinavia or Scandia, (the northern part of Sweden); Nerigon (Norway); and Eningia or perhaps Finningia (Finland). The northernmost island was called Thule.

Northern Europe from the Vistula to the Tanais (Don) was comprised under the general name of Sarmatia; but except the lands on the Danube,

especially Dacia, (see p. 419); were but partially known by the commerce with the coasts of the Baltic for amber.

In Asia the Roman empire was bounded by Armenia Major, (see p. 19, 307,) the Parthian kingdom from the Euphrates to the Indus (see p. 18—21); and the peninsula Arabia (see p. 20.).

Eastern Asia or India became known to the Romans by commercial connections, which were formed with it after the conquest of Egypt. It was divided into India intra Gangem; i. e. 1. the countries between the Indus and the Ganges; 2. the hither peninsula, of which the western coast (Malabar) was very well known, and 3. the island Taprobana (Ceylon); and in India extra Gangem, to which the remote Serica belonged, of which countries, however, the knowledge was very imperfect.

The boundaries in Africa were Ethiopia above Egypt, and Gaetulia and the desert Lybia above the other provinces.

FIRST SECTION.

From Caesar Augustus to the death of Commodus.
b. C. 30—A. D. 193.

Sources. Dion Cassius treats of the whole period, L. LI—LXXX, though we have the last twenty books only in the abridgement of Xiphilinus.—The chief writer for the history of the government from Tiberius to the beginning of the reign of Vespasian in Tacitus in his Annals A. D. 14—68; (of which, however, a part of the history of Tiberius

32—34, the history of Caligula, and of the first six years of Claudius 37—47, as well as the history of the last one and a half years of Nero have perished ;) and in his Histories, of which hardly the first three years 69—71 are extant. Suetonius' biographies of the emperors are for that reason the more valuable ; as in a state like the Roman the knowledge of the character and private life of the regents is of great importance.—For the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, the history of Velleius Paterculus, though written in the tone of a courtier, is for that reason not the less important. The sources for the history of the emperors separately will be hereafter mentioned.

Of modern writers we name ;

Histoire des empereurs et des autres princes qui ont régné dans les six premiers siècles de l'église par M. Lenain de Tillemont. A laborious treatise, surpassed by :

Histoire des empereurs Romains depuis Auguste jusqu' à Constantin par M. Crevier. A continuation of Rollin's Roman history by his pupil and in his spirit.

Hübner *Geschichte der Römer unter den Imperatoren, wie auch der gleichzeitigen Völker*. 1803. 3 Th. A continuation of the work cited p. 2. It goes to Constantine.

1. For forty four years the sole rule of the state was in the hands of Caesar Octavian, ^{30 b. C.} being expressly committed to him and ^{to} renewed by the senate with the name ^{A. D. 14.} Augustus, which his successors also bore. In this period, notwithstanding the great changes by ^{27.} which the former republic was transformed into a monarchy, the government was as little despotic in reality as in form. The greatest possible preservation of the republican forms was required by the interests of the ruler, as at any rate not every thing could be changed ; and the subsequent history of Augustus sufficiently shows,

that the cruelty, with which he had been charged at an earlier period, lay more in the circumstances of the times than in his disposition. Under an administration so long, so tranquil, and so successful, the republican spirit, which at its beginning lived only in individuals, could not but of itself vanish away.

The forms, under which Augustus possessed the several parts of the highest authority (he declined the dictatorship,) were the consulship, which was annually conferred on him till 21, and 19 the *potestas consularis* for life ;—the *tribunica potestas*, which, conferred on him 30 for life, made his person *sacrosancta*, and thus prepared for the *judicia majestatis*. As Imperator 31 he remained the commander in chief of all armies, and received the *imperium proconsulare* in all the provinces. He took on himself the *magistratura morum* since 19 ; and was made *potifex maximus* 13.—To avoid every appearance of usurpation, Augustus assumed the highest authority at first for ten years only ; and even afterwards caused it to be renewed every ten or five years. Hence originated the *sacra decennalia*.

2. The senate, it is true, remained the council of state ; and Augustus even endeavored to raise its consideration by a repeated purification (*lectio*) ; but the relation between the two was unsettled, and it remained undecided, whether the senate was subordinate to Augustus or Augustus to the senate. Not every public concern could be brought before the senate ; often the most important could not, for they required secrecy ; and it was natural for a prince, who had no other court, than that of his friends and freed-men, and no proper minister, to consult with his confidential friends, a *Maecenas*,

an Agrippa, and others; by which means the *consilium secretum principis* was afterwards formed. Of the republican magistrates the highest now suffered the most; and as so much depended on preserving tranquillity in the capital, the places of *praefectus urbi* and *praefectus annonae* became regular and, especially the first, most important offices.

The spirit of monarchy showed itself in nothing more than in the more careful distinction of rank, of which the magistracies, especially the consulship, lost nothing. Hence the constant custom of *consules suffecti*, and at a later period the mere *ornamenta consularia* and *triumphalia*. Several places were made, to reward friends and supporters.

3. The introduction of standing armies, for which the way had long been prepared, was the natural consequence of a supremacy obtained by force, and had been rendered necessary by the newly conquered provinces, if they were to be maintained and the frontiers protected. The erection of the guards (*cohortes praetorianae*), and the cohorts of the city (*cohortes urbanae*), were necessary measures for the security of the capital and the throne. The appointment of two *praefecti praetorio* diminished the great importance of these offices.

The legions are divided among the provinces in *castra stativa*; which soon grow to be cities, especially along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; (*legiones Germanicae, Illyricae and Syriacae*). Fleets were stationed at *Misenum* and *Ravenna*.

4. The occupancy, as well as the administration and the revenues of the provinces Augustus volun-

tarily divided with the senate. He reserved to himself chiefly the provinces on the confines of the empire, where the legions were stationed, and left the rest to the senate ; (*provinciae principis* and *provinciae senatus*). Therefore his governors (*legati*, subordinate generals) managed alike military and civil concerns in his name ; while those of the senate (*proconsules*) had only civil authority. Both usually were attended by comptrollers (*procuratores* and *quaestores*). The provinces unquestionably gained, not only by the more strict supervision of the governors, but also by establishing pay for those employed by the state.

The fate of the provinces naturally depended in a great measure on the character of the emperor and the governors ; but there may have been a great difference between the *provinciae principis* and *senatus*. In the latter there was no military oppression as in the former ; and hence is to be explained the prosperity of Gaul, Spain, Africa, &c.

5. The sources of the public revenue were chiefly the same as before, though Augustus made many changes in the interior of the finances, with which we are however but imperfectly acquainted. The difference between the private and military treasury of the emperor (*fiscus*), which was at his immediate disposal, and the public treasury (*aerarium*), which he controlled through the senate, was established almost of itself ; though when despotism afterwards prevailed, it was natural that the latter should be more and more absorbed by the former.

The greater the disorder of the finances had become during the civil wars, especially by giving away the public

lands in Italy, and the larger the expense, now occasioned by the support of standing armies, the more difficulties must have attended the reform successfully accomplished by Augustus, in which his chief object seems to have been, to put every thing on the most exact footing. The chief changes in the former taxes seem to have been, that 1. the former tithes of the provinces were changed for a fixed quantity, which each was obliged to deliver. 2. The duties were re-established, and some new ones laid ; and an accise (*centesima rerum venalium*) was introduced. The duties were very productive for Rome by the possession of Egypt, through which passed almost all the commerce of the East. 3. The public lands in the provinces gradually become the domains of the princes.—Of the new taxes the most important were, partly the *vicesima hereditatum*, yet with important limitations ; partly the penalties exacted from the unmarried by the *lex Julia Poppaea*.—Of these revenues the larger part probably from the first found its way into the *fiscus* ; all the revenues derived from the *provinciis principis* ; those also from the *provinciis senatus*, destined for the support of the military ; the income from the domains ; the *vigesima*, &c. To the *aerarium* (now under three *praefectis aerarii*) there came a part of the revenues from the *provinciis senatus* ; of the duties ; and the fines. Thus was Augustus master of the finances and the legions ; and so—of the empire.

6. The additions to the Roman territory under Augustus were of great importance ; and chiefly such, as were necessary for the security of the interior and the defence of the frontier. By the entire subjection of northern Spain, as well as
of western Gaul, the first object was secured ; 25.
and the latter by the expedition, threatened,
though not undertaken, against the Parthians, 20.
and the expedition against Armenia, which
was actually executed. But the most impor- 2.

15. tant conquest was unquestionably that of the countries on the South of the Danube, of Rhaetia, Vindelicia and Noricum ; as of Pan-
 35. nonia and afterwards Moesia. On the other
 29. hand, the expedition against Arabia felix was an entire failure ; and that against Aethiopia
 24. had no other effect, than to protect the frontier.

7. But all these conquests taken together, did not cost Rome so much as the attempts, entirely unsuccessful in the end, for the subjugation of Germany, which were made, first under Drusus and Tiberius Nero, the step-sons of Augustus, and afterwards under Drusus Germanicus, the son of the former. Whether they were political faults must ever remain a problem, since it cannot be certainly determined, how much they contributed towards rendering the frontiers secure.

The aggressive wars of Rome against the Germans began under Drusus 12 b. C. ; and lower Germany (Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Hesse) continued to be the theatre of them, because the attacks were made up the Rhine, partly by land, partly by water, through the mouths of the Ems, the Weser and Elbe, on which account the Romans sought to gain assistance by alliances with the nations along the sea, the Batavi, Friesi, and Chauci. The bold Drusus, in his second expedition 10 reached the Weser, and in 9 even the Elbe, but died on his return. His successors in the command, Tiberius 9—7, Domitius Aenobarbus 7—2, M. Vinicius 2—A. D. 2, then again Tiberius 2—4, who was followed by Quintilius Varus 5—9, sought to build upon the foundation laid by Drusus, and gradually to form that part of Germany, which had been already conquered, into a province by the erection of castles and by the introduction of

Roman laws and language ; but the artfully concerted rising of the young Herman, prince of the Cherusci, the son of Siegmar and son-in-law of Segestes, the friend of Rome, together with the defeat of Varus and his army in the Teutoburgian forest in the district of Paderborn 9, saved Germany from subjugation and its language from destruction ; and taught the victors, what they never forgot, that the legions were not invincible. Augustus immediately despatched Tiberius (who had just quelled a great rebellion in Pannonia) with Germanicus to the Rhine ; but no battles of consequence took place, until Germanicus 14—16 again penetrated far into the country, and indeed as far as the Weser in the year 16 ; but notwithstanding the victory at Idistavisus (at Minden), his fleet and a part of his army perished in a storm on his return, and he was soon after recalled through the jealousy of Tiberius. From that time, the Germans had peace from this quarter.

Mannert. Geogr. d. Griech. u. Römer. Th. III.

8. The long and peaceful reign of Augustus, as far as Italy is concerned, is generally regarded as a happy and splendid period ; and it certainly was so in comparison with the times that preceded and followed it. Security of person and property was restored ; the arts of peace, favored by Augustus himself and his intimate friend Maecenas, rose into prosperity ; the formal restoration of the republic would have been the signal to new commotions ; and if the reign of Augustus was not the very best, we must first answer the question, whether Rome, as it was then, could have endured a better ? Even if his private life was not blameless, he insisted inexorably on external decorum, (for to it he sacrificed his only daughter !) and there was no want of laws for the improvement of morals, if indeed laws could have effected much.

The most important of his laws to this end are the *lex Julia de adulteriis* and the *lex Papia Poppoea* against celibacy; the latter of these occasioned the loudest murmurs.

9. The history of the reign of Augustus turns very much upon his family circumstances; and the least happiness was in the ruling family itself. The influence of his second wife Livia, (which she seems however to have perverted to no worse purpose than the elevation of the sons of her first marriage, Tiberius and Drusus), was very great; and the uncertainty of the succession in a state such as the Roman was at that time, was increased by fortuitous circumstances. After the early death

23. of his adopted nephew and son-in-law Marcellus, Julia, his widow, the only child of Augustus by his wife Scribonia was married to Agrippa. The two eldest sons of this fruitful marriage, C. and L. Caesar, were adopted by 17. Augustus, and after the death of their father (their mother having been married to Tiberius, but exiled by her father on account of 12. her licentiousness) as they grew up, were so 2. brought forward by Augustus, that Tiberius, 6 to A.D.2. discontented, left the court. But at their A.D. early death, the hopes of Tiberius again re- 2 to 4. vived; he also was adopted by Augustus, but A.D. 4. was obliged to adopt in turn, Drusus Germanicus, the son of his deceased brother Drusus; A.D. and afterwards, Augustus formally appointed 11. Tiberius his associate in the empire, with the consent of the senate, by the grant of equal privileges, called among his successors *lex regia*.

Marmor Ancyranum, or inscription on the temple of Augustus at Ancyra, a copy of the *Compte rendu* of his reign, which Augustus erected at Rome as a public monument ; much mutilated ; Chishull *Antiqu. Asiatic*.

Memoirs of the court of Augustus by Th. Blackwell. London. 1760. III Voll. 4to. the last published by M. Mills after the death of the author ; in fifteen books. The two last books only of this prolix work comprise sketches of the affairs of Augustus, the others go back to earlier periods. A just estimate of the character of Augustus presupposes a criticism of the sources of Suetonius.

Histoire des triumvirats augmentée de l'histoire d'Auguste par Larrey. Trevoux. 1741. 4 parts. 8vo. The last part of this simple narrative, beginning from Catiline's death, contains the history of Augustus.

10. The reign of Tiberius (Tiberius Clau- A. D.
dius Nero, since his adoption by Augustus, ^{14.}
^{19th}
Tiberius Caesar, aged 56—78 years), who ^{Aug.}
succeeded in Rome without disturbance, al- ^{to 37}
^{16th}
though the legions in Pannonia and yet more ^{M'ch.}
in Germany soon evinced that they felt their power to choose an emperor, produced a greater change in the spirit than in the form of the Roman constitution. The comitia were reduced by him to a mere shadow, while he transferred their business to the senate, which became also the highest court of criminal justice for the public trial of its members ; but the senate had become so subservient, that every thing depended on the personal character of the prince. Tiberius founded his despotism on the *judicia majestatis*, which now became a source of terror ; but the senate must share with him the blame for its cowardice and baseness, which knew no bounds. It became the instrument of tyranny

when it ceased to be the government of a republic. Notwithstanding the military talents and many good qualities of Tiberius, now fifty six years of age, his despotic character had long been developed, before he ascended the throne ; but external circumstances induced him not wholly to throw aside the mask which he had hitherto worn.

The *judicia majestatis* which soon became so terrible from the uncertain nature of the crime, were founded under Augustus by the *lex Regia* and by the *cognitiones extraordinariae* ; but were rendered really terrible by the abuse of them under Tiberius and his successors.

12. The principal object of his suspicion and thence of his hatred was Germanicus, almost the idol of the army and the people, whom he soon recalled from Germany, and sent to Syria on account of the disturbances in the East, where after having successfully composed all contests, he was A. D. poisoned at the instigation of Cn. Piso and^{19.} his wife ; although the numerous family by his widow Agrippina, which he left behind, escaped, as little as she herself, persecution and destruction.

The undertakings of Germanicus in the East resulted not only in giving a king to the Armenians, but in making Roman provinces of Cappadocia and Commagene A. D. 17.

Histoire de Caesar Germanicus par Mr. L. D. (Beaufort). à Leyden. 1741. An unpretending chronological narration.

13. Unhappily for Rome, L. Aelius Sejanus, the *praefectus praetorio* was able to acquire the confidence of Tiberius, the more unlimited as he²³ enjoyed it alone. A despotism was occasion-^{31.} ed by his eight years' authority, since he not only made this formidable by collecting the guards in barracks before the city (*castra praetoriana*),

and was able to persuade Tiberius to leave Rome forever, in order to tyrannize more securely from Capreac, but he also attempted to lay open an avenue for himself to the throne by many deeds of infamy and crime, and by the persecution of the house of Germanicus. And this despotism acquired new terror from his fall, for all his adherents or all who were considered as such, were implicated in it. The picture is rendered doubly horrible by the unnatural sensuality, which Tiberius, contrary to the laws of nature, not till his old age, united with his tyranny.

It was the misfortune of Tiberius that he ascended the throne too late. His earlier virtues are no equivalent for his later cruelty. It is the former that Vellejus Paterculus praises. His praise of Tiberius (he wrote about the middle of his reign) is much more easily to be justified than his praise of Sejanus.

14. In Caius Caesar Caligula, now twenty five years old, the only remaining son of Germanicus ascended the throne; but the hopes, which were formed of the young prince, were soon terribly disappointed. His mind, already distracted by sickness and extravagance, fell into a madness which deprives his short reign of all consistency. Still he was yet more pernicious to the state by his insane prodigality than by his savage cruelty. He was murdered, after a reign of almost four years, by two captains of the guards, Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus.

15. His uncle and successor, Tiberius Claudius Caesar, aged fifty years, was the first emperor who was raised to the throne by the

to 45. guards, and rewarded them in return by a
 13th largess. Too weak to govern of himself,
 Oct. almost stupid from early neglect, a riotous
 liver, and cruel from timidity, he was the sport of
 the impudence of his wives and freedmen; and
 besides the names of a Messalina and Agrippina,
 those of a Pallas and Narcissus are found for the
 first time in Roman history. The power of Mes-
 salina was yet more detrimental to the empire by
 her avarice which made every thing venal, than
 by her disorderly conduct; and after she had suf-
 fered the punishment of her unexampled licen-
 A. D. tiousness, her place was occupied by one who
 48. was yet worse, her neice, Agrippina the
 younger, the widow of L. Domitius, for she united
 to the vices of her predecessor, a passion for
 50. power which Messalina never had. To se-
 cure the succession to the son of her first
 marriage Domitius Nero, who had been adopted
 by Claudius and received his daughter Octavia in
 marriage, in preference to Britannicus, the son of
 Claudius, was the one great object of her policy.
 This object she believed it possible to attain, by
 54. poisoning Claudius, after she had assured her-
 self of the guards by the appointment of
 Burrus as sole praefectus praetorio.—Although the
 contests with the Germans and Parthians (see
 p. 313) were nothing more than disputes respect-
 ing boundaries, the limits of the Roman empire
 were extended during his reign, in several coun-
 tries.

Roman conquests had been begun in Britain (whither
 Claudius proceeded in person) under A. Plautius, from the

year 43. Under him, Mauretania in 42, Lycia 43, Judaea 44, (see above p. 323), and Thrace 47, were changed into provinces. And he also abolished in Italy the yet existing prefectures.

16. He was succeeded by Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar), seventeen years of age, supported by Agrippina and the guards. Brought up in the midst of great crimes, and more fitted by a perverted education for a musician and connoisseur than for a ruler, he ascended the throne, while yet a youth, with the determination to enjoy quickly; and in his life we see even his cruelty subjected to his affected love of letters and the fine arts and his dissoluteness. The causes of this cruelty lay in the uncertainty of the succession; even after the murder of Britannicus, the sword fell in regular order upon all those, who were even remotely connected with the Julian family. But his vanity as an artist had no less effect in producing this cruelty; and since with tyrants, every execution is of itself a motive for new ones, we must not wonder that it fell on those also who appeared to distinguish themselves. In his first years however, during which some good regulations in the financial department were made, he was compelled by his relations with Agrippina and with Burrus and Seneca, to exercise a certain degree of moderation. But after Sabina had impelled him to the murder of his mother and of his wife Octavia, and Tigellinus had become his confidant, no external relation could longer restrain him. The executions of the individuals which alone have been preserved by history, were perhaps on the

A. D.
54.
13th
Oct.
to 68.
11th
June.

A. D.
54.

59.

62.

whole the less injury; but the plundering of the provinces, not to enable him to pursue his gluttonous mode of life, but to keep the people also in a continual giddiness, almost produced a dissolution of the empire. His latter years were evidently marked by a madness which evinced itself A. D. in his theatrical exercises, and even in the 68. history of his fall.—Upon and near a throne like the Roman, there is abundant opportunity for the formation of heroes in vice as well as in virtue.

After the frustration of the conspiracy of Piso 65, rebellion of Julius Vindex in Gallia Celtica 68, and afterwards of Galba in Spain who is there proclaimed emperor, and is joined by Otho in Lusitania. But after the defeat of Julius Vindex by Virginus Rufus, the lieutenant in Upper Germany, the rebellion would appear quelled, were it not for that which broke out in Rome itself among the guards, at the instigation of Nymphidius.—Flight and death of Nero, 11th June 68.—Foreign wars during his reign; in Britain, the greater part of which was conquered by Suetonius Paulinus and became a province; in Armenia, under the bold Corbulo with the Parthians, (see above p. 313), and in Palestine from 66 against the Jews.—Great conflagration in Rome 64; and the first persecution of the Christians caused by it.

The principal reason why the despotism of Nero and his predecessors was so quietly borne by the nation, lay in the fact, that a great part of them were fed by the emperors. From the monthly distributions of corn of the times of the republic, there now sprang up the extraordinary *congiaria* and *viscerationes*. The times of tyranny were generally the golden days of the rabble.

17. The extinction of the house of Caesar with

Nero, occasioned such great commotions in the Roman empire, that in less than two years, four rulers made themselves masters of the throne by force. The right of the senate, to appoint the successor to the throne or at least to confirm the appointment was indeed acknowledged ; but as soon as the armies had discovered the secret that they could make emperors, its ratification became a mere ceremony. Servius Sulpitius Galba, who had already been proclaimed emperor by his legions in Spain and now acknowledged by the senate, obtained possession of Rome without resistance, since in the city itself the attempt of Nymphidius failed of success and Virginius Rufus submitted voluntarily. But during his short reign, he gained the ill will, not only of the guards but also of the German legions ; and when he adopted the young Licinius Piso, in order to secure his throne, and by this frustrated the hopes of his former friend M. Otho, his ruin was effected by the latter with the assistance of the guards.

A. D.
68.
11th
Jan.
to A.
D. 69.
15th
June.

18. M. Otho (aged 37 years) was acknowledged by the senate, but not by the German legions, who proclaimed their commander, A. Vitellius the legate, emperor, and advanced with him to Italy. Otho proceeded to meet him ; but after the loss of the battle at Bedriacum,—it is uncertain whether from cowardice or patriotism,—he took his own life.

A. D.
69.
15th
Jan.
to 16th
April.

The special sources for Galba and Otho are the biographies of them both, by Plutarch.

19. A. Vitellius, (aged 57 years). He was
 A. D. immediately acknowledged both by the se-
 69. nate and also in the provinces; but while
 16th April he rendered himself hated in Rome by his
 to 20 Dec. extravagance and cruelty and the licentious-
 ness of his troops, the Syrian legions rebelled and
 declared their general, Titus Flavius Vespasianus
 emperor, who accepted the throne at the instiga-
 tion of the powerful Mucianus, the governor of
 Syria. As the legions on the Danube acceded
 to him a short time after, and under their com-
 mander Antoninus Primus, marched towards Italy,
 where they defeated the troops of Vitellius at Cre-
 mona, the overthrow of Vitellius was effected the
 more speedily, although not without some bloody
 scenes in Rome, in which Flavius Sabinus, the
 brother of Vespasian, perished, and the capitol
 was burned.

20. With Flavius Vespasian (aged 59—69
 A. D. years), a new dynasty ascended the throne,
 69. which has given it three emperors. The
 20th Dec. empire, almost dissolved by wasteful prodi-
 to 79. gality, civil wars and repeated revolutions,
 24th June. obtained in Vespasian, the very prince it needed.
 His first occupation was to fix his relations with
 the senate; while he caused all the rights and
 liberties, which his predecessors of the house of
 the Caesars had enjoyed, to be defined individu-
 ally and conferred upon himself, by its resolve;
 (lex regia). He began his reform with the finan-
 ces, then in a state of utter confusion, by reducing
 the countries, that had been emancipated by Nero,
 together with some others, to provinces; by re-

storing or increasing the ancient customs and by imposing new ; without which the restoration of discipline in the army was not possible. His liberality in erecting public edifices both in Rome and in the other cities, and his care for education by the appointment of teachers, who received salaries, acquit him of the charge of avarice ; and although he expelled from Rome the Stoics, who had become so numerous since the time of Nero, and were almost the only sect, that still cherished republican principles, on account of their turbulent sentiments, the abolition of the *judicia majestatis* and the authority he restored to the senate, show how far he was from despotism.

The countries, reduced by him to provinces are, Rhodes, Samos, Lycia, Achaia, Thrace, Cilicia and Commagene.—Foreign wars ; the wars against the Jews, which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, and the much more important war against the Batavi and their allies under Civilis, who sought during the last civil wars, to free themselves of the oppression of Rome 69, but were compelled to a treaty by Cerealis 70.—Enterprises of Agricola in Britain A. D. 78—85, by whom not only all England was subjected and romanized, but Scotland also was attacked and circumnavigated.

D. *Vespasianus sive de vita et legislatione T. Flavii Vespasiani Imp. Commentarius, auctore A. G. Cramer. Jenae. 1785.* An excellent investigation, with explanations of the fragments of the *lex regia*. The 2d part, *de legislatione* contains a learned commentary, respecting the *SN. consulta*, during his reign.

21. His elder son, Titus Flavius Vespasianus (aged 39—42 years), already nominated Caesar A. D. 70, gives the singular example of a prince, who became better on the

A. D.
79.
27th
June.
to 81.
13 Spt.

throne. His short and beneficent reign was only remarkable for many public misfortunes, the great eruption of Vesuvius, which buried several cities, a plague and a destructive conflagration in Rome. His early death secures to him forever the fame of having been the best, if not the most fortunate, of princes.

A. D. 22. T. Flavius Domitianus, his younger
 81. brother and successor, (aged 36—45 years),
 13th Sept. gave the opposite example; and although the
 to 96. beginning of his reign was marked by strict-
 18th Sept. ness and rectitude, he soon became the most
 perfect despot on the Roman throne. His cruelty, joined to an equal degree of vanity and, in a short time, nourished by morose suspicion, made him the enemy of all who were distinguished for their actions, riches or talents; and he was made still worse by the mortifications, which his pride had to experience in the wars against the Catti, and yet more in those against the Dacii. He rested his despotism on the soldiery, whose pay he increased by a quarter; but in order not to weaken it, as he had done at first, he multiplied the more the *judicia majestatis* (which required new terror under him from the favor extended to secret informers [*delatores*],) in order to supply the *fiscus* by the confiscation of property. His cruelty however seems to have been principally confined to the capitol; and the strict inspection, which he exercised over the governors of the provinces, prevented such a general disorganization of the empire as had taken place under Nero. His fall confirms the result of universal experience, that a tyrant

has little to fear from the people, but so much the more from individuals, whose throats are in danger.

The foreign wars during his reign are the most remarkable, the first successful attacks were for now made by the barbarians on the Roman empire. His ridiculous expedition against the Catti A. D. 82, afforded the first evidence of his unlimited vanity ; and the recall of the victorious Agricola from Britain 85, of his suspicion. His most important wars were those against the Dacii or Getae, who attacked the Roman frontiers under their spirited king Decebalus. By these wars, others were caused at the same time, with their neighbors, the Marcomanni, Quadi and Iazyges A. D. 86—90, which fell out so unfortunately for Rome, that Domitian was compelled to purchase peace of the Dacii, by a tribute.

23. M. Cocceius Nerva (aged about 70 years) was raised to the throne by the murderers of Domitian, and with him a more happy period for the empire, began to dawn. The former reign of terror ceased ; and he sought to give life to industry, not merely by diminishing the taxes, but also by the distribution of land to the needy. The insurrection of the guards cost the murderers of Domitian their life, but occasioned the adoption of M. Ulpus Trajanus by Nerva, which insured the happiness of the empire even after his death.

24. With M. Ulpus Trajanus (by adoption Nerva Trajanus) a Spaniard by birth (aged 43—62 years), a foreigner for the first time, but a prince however, ascended the Roman throne, who was equally great as a ruler, general, and man. After an entire aboli-

96.
24th
Jan.
to 98.
27th
Jan.

97.

98.
24th
Jan.
to
117.
11th
Aug.

tion of the *judicia majestatis*, he adopted as his principal object the restoration of the Roman free constitution as far as it could exist with the monarchy, while he made himself subject to the laws. He restored to the *comitia* the elective power, to the senate the most perfect freedom of voting, and to the magistrates their influence; and he exercised the art of self-government in a degree and with a strictness, practised by few princes. Frugal in his private concerns, he was splendidly liberal for every useful institution in Rome or in the provinces, as in constructing roads, public monuments, and establishing institutions for the education of poor children. By his wars he extended the Roman territory beyond its former limits; for in the two wars against the *Dacii*, their territory, and in the wars against the Armenians and Parthians, Armenia, Mesopotamia and a part of Arabia were conquered and reduced to provinces.—Why was the love of conquest a feature of so noble a character?

The first war against the *Dacii*, in which he did away the scandalous tribute, and compelled *Dercebalus* to submission, continued from 101 to 103. But after *Dercebalus* had again risen, the war was renewed 105 and terminated 106, *Dacia* was made a province, and several Roman colonies established there.—The war with the Parthians arose respecting filling the throne of Armenia 114—116; but victoriously as it terminated, no permanent advantage accrued from it to the Roman empire.—His conquests in Arabia extended no farther than the northern part, where Arabia *Petraea* was occupied in the year 107 by his lieutenant, *A. Cornelius Palma*.

As a special source for his history we must mention the Panegyricus of the younger Pliny ; but we may derive a much deeper view of the spirit of his history from his correspondence with this same Pliny, then governor of Bithynia. Plin. Epist. L. X.—Who can read it without admiration of the crowned man of business? Rittershusii. Trajanus in lucem reproductus. Ambegae. 1608. Nothing more than a collection of the passages of the ancients respecting Trajan.

Res Trajani imperatoris ad Danubium gestae, auctore Conrad Mannert. Norimb. 1795. and :

Joh. Christ. Engel commentatio de Expeditionibus Trajani ad Danubium, et origine Valachorum. Vindob. 1794. Both equally erudite answers to the question proposed by the Society of Sciences at Göttingen, the former of which obtained the prize, and the other the *accessit*.

25. At the instigation of Plotina, the wife of Trajan, he was succeeded by his cousin and ward, P. Aelius Hadrianus (aged 42—63 years), whom he is said to have adopted before his death. Having been immediately recognized by the army in Asia, with which he had resided, the senate soon followed. The system of his government differed from that of his predecessor, in as much as he made the preservation of peace the aim of his endeavors, for the sake of which he immediately with singular moderation resigned the newly conquered Asiatic provinces, Armenia, Syria and Mesopotamia, and settled the contest with the Parthians (see above p. 314). But in order not to expose the Roman colonies, Dacia was unwillingly retained by him. On the other hand he sought to give the empire a greater degree of solidity by a universal and very strict reform of the interior, and by increasing the

117.
17th
Aug.
to
133.
10th
July.

severity of military discipline. For this end, he
 120. visited successively all the provinces of the
 to Roman empire ; first those in the West, and
 123. afterwards those in the East, and every-
 124. where he restored better order ; he is also
 to said to have improved the civil code of
 131. Rome by the introduction of the *edictum per-
 petuum* ; and himself a great friend of the arts and
 possessing a fine taste, they again bloomed during
 his reign. On the whole, his reign was truly salu-
 tary ; and a rich compensation for the few acts of
 136. injustice, with which he was charged, was
 given by his choice of a successor. After
 138. Lucius Aurelius Verus who was first adopted
 1st by him (from that time Aelius Verus), be-
 Jan. came the victim of his excesses, he adopted
 25th T. Aurelius Antoninus, (from that time T.
 Feb. Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Pius), with the condition
 that he again should adopt M. Aurelius Verus (M.
 Aurelius Antoninus), and L. Cesonius Commodus
 (from that time L. Verus), the son of Aelius Verus.

During his reign, a great rebellion took place among the
 Jews under Barcochabus (132—135) on account of the
 heathen rites introduced into the colony Aelia Capitolina,
 (the ancient Jerusalem).

The special sources for the history of Hadrian are his life
 and that of Aelius Verus by Aelius Spartianus in the *Scrip.
 Hist. Aug. minores*, so called.

138. 26. The reign of Antoninus Pius (aged 47
 10th —70 years) was without doubt the happiest
 July period for the Roman empire. He found it
 to in an excellent order and left in their places
 161. all the civil officers appointed by Hadrian.
 7th
 M'ch.

His noiseless activity affords history but little to speak of, and yet he was perhaps the noblest man that ever sat on a throne. Even when prince, he led the life of the most blameless private individual, while he administered the affairs of the state as his own. He honored the senate, and the provinces flourished under him, because he not only exercised a strict inspection over the governors, but also made it a principle to leave in office for years those whom he had once found to be good men. He preserved strict order in the finances and was never avaricious, when the establishment or improvement of useful institutions were in question. To this liberality, the erection of many edifices, the appointment of public teachers, who were rewarded by a salary, in all the provinces, and other examples bear witness. He waged no war himself; but on the contrary, foreign nations voluntarily chose him as their arbiter; a few disturbances which arose in Britain and Egypt and some frontier wars, excited by the Germans, Dacians, Mauri and Alanes, were quelled by his lieutenants.

The leading and almost only source for Antoninus Pius, Dion Cassius' history of this time having been lost, is his life by Julius Capitolinus in the *Script. Hist. Aug.* And even this gives a description of his character, rather than his life. Compare with it his excellent sketch, generally overlooked, of Marc. Aurel. I. 16.

Vies des empereurs Tite Antonin et Marc. Aurel, par Mr. Guatier de Sibert. Paris. 1769. A valuable essay on the history of the two Antonines.

27. He was followed by M. Aurelius Antoninus, Philosophus (aged 40—59 years), who nominated L. Verus (†Jan. 169, aged 30—40 years) Augustus as his assistant, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Notwithstanding the difference of their characters, harmony was preserved between them during their mutual reign, although L. Verus, absent most of the time in wars, had but little to do with the affairs of government. The reign of Marcus Aurelius was remarkable for severe accidents, a terrible plague, famine and almost continual wars; and only such a prince could compensate for them, who exhibited to the world the example of a philosopher on the throne. Immediately after his accession, the Catti rose on the Rhine, and the Parthians in Asia; L. Verus was despatched against them. But much more important consequences resulted from the wars along the Danube with the Marcomanni and their allies in Pannonia, and other northern tribes, who now began to make powerful efforts to penetrate into Dacia. They employed M. Aurelius with little interruption from 167 to the end of his reign. He maintained indeed the bonds of the empire, but he was the first who civilized the barbarians within it, and adopted them into the Roman service. The spirit of the civil administration in the interior was the same as that of his predecessor, except that he conceded more to his freedmen and his family than he should have done. The only rebellion which was excited against him by Avidius Cassius, who was meritorious as a general, on a

161.
7th
M^{ch}.
to 180.
17th
M^{ch}.

160 to
166.

report that was spread of his death, was terminated, after the truth was known, by the fall of its author. 175.

The war against the Parthians (see above p. 314), was terminated victoriously by Verus, and the Romans even gained possession of the first cities of Parthia ; but while it was carried on by his lieutenants, he was revelling at Antioch. —The first war with the Marcomanni 167—174, carried on by both of the emperors till the death of Verus, was highly dangerous for Rome, because several other nations had united with the Marcomanni, especially the Quadi, Iazyges and Vandali, and penetrated to Aquileia. M. Aurelius terminated it indeed 174, by an honorable peace, because it was necessary to repress the rebellion of Cassius ; but in 178 the Marcomanni kindled a second war, before the end of which Aurelius died at Sirmium.—Contemporaneous with these wars, still however, as it appears, without connexion with them, were the attacks of other nations, such as the Bastarnae, the Alani, etc. who fled before northern tribes (probably the Goths, now advancing south), to Dacia. These were the first symptoms of the great migration of the nations.

Special sources for the history of M. Aurelius are the biographies of him and L. Verus by Julius Capitolinus, and that of Avidius Cassius by Vulcatius Gallicanus in Script. Hist. Aug. The letters discovered among and with the writings of Fronto in Milan afford no historical information. —His principles may be best learned from his meditations on himself.

Ch. Meiners de M. Aurel. Antonini ingenio, moribus et scriptis, in commentat. Soc. Gotting. Vol. VI.

28. By adoption the Roman empire had obtained for eighty years such a series of rulers, as rarely falls to the lot of a state. But with the son of M. Aurelius, (probably the son of a gladiator), T. Commodus An-

180.
17th
M'ch.
to 192.
31st
Dec.

toninus, (aged 19—31 years) a monster of cruelty, arrogance and sensuality ascended the throne. That he might return to Rome, he purchased peace of the Marcomanni ; and as he took no part himself in affairs of state, the helm was placed in the hands of Perennis, the *prefectus praetorio*, a strict
 186. man. But he having been murdered by the discontented soldiers, was succeeded by the freedman Eleander, with whom every thing was venal, till he fell in a riot of the people, occasioned by famine, the victim of his avarice. The
 189. mad propensity of Commodus for the amusements of the amphitheatre for fights of wild beasts, and shows of gladiators, in which he himself appeared as a Hercules, was one main cause of his wasteful prodigality, and thence of his cruelty, till he was murdered at the instigation of his concubine Marcia, Lactus, the *prefectus praetorio*, and Eclectus. —The wars on the frontiers during his reign, in Dacia and especially in Britain, were carried on victoriously by his lieutenants, who were still generals of his father's school.

Special sources for the history of Commodus are the characteristics of Ael. Lampridius in the *Script. Hist. Aug.* —With him the History of Herodian also begins.

29. The empire had suffered from the calamities under M. Aurelius, and the extravagance of Commodus ; but it was not yet weakened ; towards the end of the period of the Antonines, it stood in its entire strength. If a wise government, internal peace, moderate taxes, a certain degree of political, and unlimited civil freedom, can constitute the happiness of a state, Rome must have

been happy ; and how many advantages over all other states did she possess from her situation ? We see every where proofs of it ; a numerous population ; rich provinces ; flourishing and splendid cities ; an active internal and foreign commerce. But in the true happiness of a nation, moral greatness is an essential ingredient ; and this we seek in vain. Were it otherwise, would Commodus have seen the nation bow so easily to the yoke of his despotism ? Would it have suffered itself to be wronged by the praetorians and legions ? But the powers which the nation yet possessed are most clearly shown by the resistance, with which it repelled, for two centuries more, all formidable attacks from abroad.

D. H. Hegewisch über die für die Menschheit glücklichste Epoche in der Römischen Geschichte. Hamburg. 1800. 8vo.

Foreign commerce, now in so flourishing a condition, was, in fact, but little more than commerce with the East, (since the Roman empire embraced the whole east), especially with India. It extended also over Egypt and over Palmyra and Syria. Accounts of it are to be found in :

W. Robertson disquisition concerning the knowledge, which the Ancients had of India. London. 1791. 4to. And on Egypt especially in :

W. Vincent, the periplus of the Erythrean Sea. London. 1802. 2 Voll. 4to. In many respects, an instructive work.

Heeren commentationes de Graecorum et Romanorum de India notitia et cum Indis commerciis : in Commentat. Soc. Goett. Vol. X, XI.

SECOND SECTION.

*From the death of Commodus to Diocletian.**A. D. 193—284.*

Sources. The extracts of Xiphilinus from Dion Cassius L. LXXIII—LXXX, extend, although with frequent deficiencies, down to the consulship of Dion under Alexander Severus 229. Herodiani Hist. libri VIII., comprehend the period from Commodus to Gordian 180—238.—The scriptores historiae Augustae minores contain the biographies of the single emperors down to Diocletian, by Julius Capitolinus, Flavius Vopiscus, and others.—The Breviaria historiae Romanae of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and S. Rufus, are particularly important for this period.—Besides authors, what information may be derived from coins, both for this period and for the whole history of the emperors, may be best learned from the works on the subject: J. Valiant Numismata Augustorum et Caesarum cur. J. F. Baldino. Rom. 1743. III Voll. The medallie history of Imperial Rome, by W. Cooke. London. 1781. II Voll. principally however from the volumes, which belong here, of Eckhel doctrina nummorum veterum.

With the period of the Antonines begins the great work of the British historian:

The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, by Edw. Gibbon. The first in extent and in value. The six first parts only belong here, as it also comprehends all the middle ages.

1. The extinction of the house of the Antonines with Commodus produced commotions in the Roman world, similar to those which had been occasioned by the extinction of the house of Caesar
 193. after Nero. P. Helvius Pertinax, the prae-
 1 Jan. fectus urbi, (aged 67 years), was raised to
 to 28 the throne by the murderers of Commodus,
 Mch.

and acknowledged first by the guards and shortly after by the senate ; but the financial reform with which he was obliged to open his reign, made him equally odious to the soldiers and the courtiers. In less than three months, a rebellion among the soldiery, encouraged by Laetus, cost him his life. This was the first example of that fearful military despotism, which constitutes the leading character of this entire period, and was more pernicious to none than to those, who attempted to build on it their supreme power.

The arrogance of the guards had again grown formidable under the reign of Commodus, but it never entirely ceased, during the period of the Antonines. They had been kept in good humor by large donations, and their consent purchased, especially at every adoption.—The greatest objection against the period of the Antonines is, that these princes did not rid themselves of this dependence, when they appear to have possessed such ample means.

Jul. Capitolini Pertinax Imp. in Script. Hist. Aug.

2. After the rich profligate, M. Didius Julianus (aged 57 years) had acquired the empire from the guards, to the disgrace of the nation, by making the highest offer, the mutiny of the legions, who were better able to make an emperor than the guards, was the natural consequence of this transaction. But the army in Illyria having proclaimed their general Septimius Severus emperor, the army in Syria on the contrary having proclaimed Pescenninus Niger, who was more worthy of the throne, and that in Britain having proclaimed Albinus, a series of civil wars only could decide whose claims should be valid.

Ael. Spartiani Didius Julianus in Scr. Hist. Aug.

193. 3. Septimius Severus was the first, that
 1 made himself master of Rome, and after
 June. to 211. Didius Julianus had been put to death, he
 4th was acknowledged by the senate, (aged 49
 Feb. —66 years). He dismissed indeed the former guards, but chose in return a fourfold more numerous body from his own army. Having in the mean while raised Albinus to the dignity of Caesar, he first undertook the war against
 194. Pescenninus Niger, who, already master of the East, was beaten at Issus after several battles, and
 196. fell. After the obstinate Byzantium had been taken and destroyed, this war was followed by one with Albinus, of whom the perfidious
 197. Severus had sought to rid himself by assassi-
 19th nation. After a bloody defeat at Lyons, Albi-
 Feb nus took his own life. These civil wars were immediately succeeded by a war with the Parthians, who had embraced the cause of Pescenninus. This
 198. war terminated with the pillage of their capital. (See above p. 314).—Severus possessed many of the virtues of the soldier, but the insatiable greediness of his minister Plautianus, the powerful *præfectus prætorio*, deprived the empire of all the advantages that are peculiar to a military
 204. government. Plautinus was finally murdered at the instigation of Caracalla. In order to
 209 employ the legions, Severus undertook an expedition against Britain, where he enlarged the boundaries, but died at Eboracum, be-
 211. queathing to his sons the advice “to enrich the soldiers, but to consider all others as nothing.”

Agricola had already established a line of fortifications in Britain, probably between the Fyrth of Clyde and the Fyrth of Forth. These were changed by Hadrian for a wall along the boundaries of what is now Scotland. Sept. Severus again enlarged the boundaries, and renewed the fortifications of Agricola, throwing at the same time a rampart from sea to sea; but his son made a restitution of the conquered territory, and Hadrian's wall again became the boundary.

Ael. Spartiani Septimius Severus and Pescenninus Niger;
Jul. Capitolini Claudius Albinus in Script. Hist. Aug.

4. After a useless attempt at the division of the empire, the mortal hatred that existed between the two sons of Severus, M. Aur. Antoninus (Bassianus Caracalla, aged 23—29 years) and his younger half brother Geta (aged 21 years), both of whom had been raised to the imperial dignity, resulted, after their return to Rome, in the murder of Geta in the arms of his mother Julia Domna, and in the death of all others who were accounted his friends. But Caracalla's restless spirit soon drove him from Rome, and while he marched through the provinces, first along the Danube and then in the East, he ruined them all by extortions and cruelties, that he might be enabled to pay his soldiers, and purchase peace of the border nations. To this end, he conferred upon all the inhabitants of the provinces the rights of Roman citizenship, in order to subject them to the tax of the vicesima hereditatum and manumissionum, which he changed into decumae.—His first foreign wars were against the Catti and Alemanni, among whom he resided a

211.
4th
Feb.
to 217.
4th
April.

212.

long time, sometimes their friend, sometimes
 215. their enemy ; and then, after having indulged
 his rapacity with a horrible massacre in
 216. Alexandria, against the Parthians. (See p.
 314). In this war he was murdered by Macrinus,
 the *praefectus praetorio*.

Since the life time of Sept. Severus, the *praefectus praetorio* had been the most important office in the state. Besides the command of the guards, he had at the same time the care of the finances, and an extensive criminal jurisdiction.—A natural consequence of the continual growth of despotism.

Ael. Spartiani Antoninus Caracalla and Ant. Geta in *Scr. Hist. Aug.*

5. His murderer M. Opelius Macrinus
 217. (aged 53 years) was acknowledged by the
 11th soldiery and soon by the senate. He imme-
 April. diately adopted as Caesar, his son M. Ope-
 to 218. lius Diadumenus (aged 9 years), whom he
 8th June. named Antoninus. He made an unsuccessful ter-
 mination of the war with the Parthians by a pur-
 chased peace, and changed the *decima* of Cara-
 calla into *vicesima*. But while he was yet in Asia,
 Bassianus Heliogabalsu, the grandson of the sis-
 ter of Julia Domna, and the high priest in the tem-
 ple of the Sun at Emesa, who was given out by
 his mother as the son of Caracalla, was proclai-
 med emperor by the legions there, and after a battle
 with the guards, Macrinus and his son having lost
 their lives, was raised to the throne.

Maesa, the sister of Julia Domna had two daughters, both widows, the elder of whom Soaemis was the mother of Heliogabalus, the younger, Mammaea the mother of Alexander Severus.

Jul. Capitolini Opilius Macrinus in Script. Hist. Aug.

6. Heliogabalus, who likewise adopted the name of M. Aur. Antoninus (aged 14—18 years) brought with him Syrian superstition and luxury. While he introduced the service of his God Heliogabalus into Rome, even in public he polluted himself with such brutal and riotous sensualities, that history knows not his equal either in shamelessness or luxury. How deep must the morality of an age have sunk, when even a boy could ripen into such a monster?—It was with him a plan to produce a degradation of the senate and all important offices, by filling them with his own abandoned wretches, and even the adoption of his cousin, the excellent Alexander Severus, is nothing to his credit, for he soon after attempted to murder him, but instead of it was himself murdered by the guards.

213.
8th
June.
to 222.
11th
M'ch.

Ael. Lampridius Ant. Heliogabalus in Script. Hist. Aug.

7. His cousin and successor M. Aurelius Alexander Severus, (aged 14—27 years), carefully formed under the guardianship of his mother Mammaea, was one of the best of princes, in a period and on a throne where virtues were more dangerous for a ruler than vices. Protected by his youth he endeavored to effect a reform, in which he was supported by the co-operation of the guards, by whom he had been elevated to the empire. He increased the authority of the senate, out of which he formed his privy council with much strictness of choice, and removed from their offices the creatures of Heliogabalus. A revolution of very great importance for

222.
11th
M'ch.
to 235.
Aug.

Rome, took place in the Parthian empire, from that time the modern Persian, and compelled
 226. him to engage in a war with Artaxerxes, in
 231 to which he was probably victorious. But hav-
 233. ing been obliged to hasten immediately after,
 234. to protect the frontiers against the encroach-
 ments of the Germans, in his own tent he
 was, at the instigation of the Thracian Maximinus,
 murdered by the soldiers, who were exasperated
 at the severity of discipline, after having at
 222. an earlier period seen Ulpianus, his *praefectus*
praetorio, murdered before his eyes, for the same
 cause.

The revolution in the Parthian empire, by which the modern Persian arose (see p. 314) occasioned many wars with Rome, for Artaxerxes I. and his successors, the Sassanides, as descendants of the ancient Persian kings, laid claim to the possession of all the Roman provinces in Asia.

Ael. Lampridii Alexander Severus in Script. Hist. Aug.

Heyne de Alexandro Severo judicium, Comment. I. II. in Opusc. Academica Vol. VI.

235. 8. By the murder of Al. Severus, military
 Aug. to 238. despotism attained its highest summit, when
 May. the unpolished C. Julius Verus Maximinus,
 by birth a peasant of Thrace, was raised to the
 throne. He continued with success the war against
 the Germans, while he penetrated beyond the
 236. Rhine, and having advanced to Pannonia, he
 237. wished from thence to make war upon the
 Sarmatians. But his terrible rapacity, which spared
 neither the provinces nor the city, produced a gene-
 ral rebellion against him; and Gordian, the procon-
 sul in Africa, now eighty years old, with his son of

the same name, were proclaimed Augusti by the people and acknowledged by the senate. Maximinus, to revenge himself on the senate, attacked Italy from Sirmium. In the meanwhile the ^{238.} two Gordians, almost defenceless, had been ^{April.} defeated in Africa by Capellianus, the governor of Mauretania, and his legions, and lost their lives. But as the senate had no favor to expect, this body appointed the praefectus urbi, Maximus Pupienus, and Clodius Balbinus, Augusti, with whom it was obliged to associate the young Gordian the third, as Caesar. In the meantime Maximinus besieged Aquileia, but the siege being unsuccessful, he ^{May.} was murdered by his own soldiers. Pupienus and Balbinus now remained on the throne, but the guards, who besides had just had a bloody feud with the people, would have no emperor, that ^{238.} the senate had appointed, and murdered ^{15th} them both, proclaiming at the same time the ^{July.} dignity of Gordian, increased from that of Caesar to that of Augustus.

Jul. Capitolini Maximinus, Gordiani tres, Pupienus et Balbinus in Script. Hist. Aug.

9. The reign of the young M. Antoninus ²³⁸ Gordianus, (aged 12—18 years) grandson of ^{July} the proconsul who had fallen in Africa, gained ^{to} indeed some firmness from the support of his ²⁴⁴ father-in-law, Misitheus, the praefectus praetorio, ^{Feb.} and from the successful expedition, which he ²⁴¹ undertook against the Persians, who had in- ^{to} vaded Syria. But after the death of Misi- ^{243.} theus, who was followed, as praefectus praetorio, by Philip, the Arabian, the latter was able to gain

the soldiers, and after having dethroned Gordianus, caused him to be put to death.

10. The reign of M. Julius Philippus was rendered very unquiet by several rebellions, in Pannonia especially, till Decius, whom he had despatched to quell the insurrection, was compelled by the soldiers to accept the diadem. Soon after this, Philip, vanquished by him at Verona, perished with his son of the same name. —Under him, the ludi saeculares were solemnized, A. U. C. 1000.

11. Under his successor Trajanus Decius, (aged 50 years,) the Goths having crossed the Danube, penetrated for the first time, into the Roman empire ; and although Decius was in the beginning successful against them, he was slain by them in Thrace, with his son, Cl. Herennius Decius, already raised to the dignity of Caesar. C. Trebonius Gallus is now proclaimed Augustus by the army, raises his son Volusianus to the dignity of Caesar, and accepts as his associate Hostilianus, the surviving son of Decius, of whom however he soon rids himself. He purchased peace of the Goths, but despised by his generals, he was assailed by Aemilius Aemilianus, the victorious legate, in Moesia, and murdered, together with his son, by his own army. But three months after, Aemilianus, met with the same fate ; when the friend and avenger of Gallus advanced against him with the Gallic legions. The people and the army viewed Valerian (aged 60 years), as the restorer of the empire ; but although his generals defended the

frontiers against the Germans and Goths, he himself had the misfortune to be overthrown and taken captive by the too powerful Persians. Upon this, his son and colleague, P. Licinius ^{259 to} Gallienus, who understood any thing but the ^{268.} art of governing, became sole ruler. During his indolent reign, the Roman empire appears to have been partly dissolved into a number of states, partly to have been swallowed up by the barbarians. For the Persians were gaining victories in the East, and the Germans in the West, while his lieutenants, in most of the provinces, declared themselves independent of a prince, whom they despised, and, as in the case of Postumius in Gaul, were obliged to declare themselves so for their own safety. Of such, nineteen may be enumerated, several of whom, however, elevated their sons to Caesars. For this reason, this is, very improperly, called the period of the thirty tyrants, however much their boundless oppressions may justify the expression.

The German nations, which now became so terrible to the Roman empire, were, 1. the nations united under the name of the Franks, along the lower Rhine, who roved through Gaul. 2. The popular league of the Alemanni on the upper Rhine. 3. But more powerful than these were the Gothic nations, who now founded a monarchy along the whole of the lower part of the Danube and the Black Sea, which soon extended from the Theis to the Don. These nations became formidable, not merely by their land force, but, having made themselves masters of the Tauric peninsula, yet more by their naval power, by which they disturbed both the Grecian and the Asiatic provinces.

Trebellii Pollionis Valerianus, Gallieni duo ; triginta tyranni, in Script. Hist. Aug.

Ueber die dreissig Tyrannen unter dem Römischen Kayser Gallienus von J. C. F. Manso ; at the end of his life of Constantine.

263. 12. Gallienus, losing his life before Medio-
M'ch. lanum, in the war against the usurper Au-
to 270 reolus, recommended for his successor M.
Oct. Aurelius Claudius (aged 45—47 years). He restored some degree of solidity to the distracted empire, for he not only took Aureolus captive, and defeated the Alemanni, but he also gained a great victory at Nissa, over the Goths, invading Moesia. He died soon after at Sirmium of the plague, and destined for his successor Aurelian, a hero like himself, who ascended the throne after Quintillus, Clodius' brother, who had proclaimed himself emperor, had put an end to his own life.

Trebellii Pollionis divus Claudius in Script. Hist. Aug.

270. 13. During the reign of L. Domitius Au-
Oct. relianus, of almost five years length, the coun-
to 275. tries that had been separated or lost, were
M'ch. again annexed to the empire. After having repelled the Goths and the Alemanni, who had penetrated as far as Umbria, he undertook his expedition
271. against the renowned Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, who at that time possessed Syria, Egypt and a part of Asia Minor. Having defeated Zenobia and taken her captive, he again brought
273. these countries under his own sway. The countries in the West also, Gaul, Britain and Spain, which, since the time of Gallienus, had been governed by their own rulers, and then stood

under Tetricus, were again subjugated. On the contrary, of his own accord, he renounced Dacia, and transplanted the Roman inhabitants across the Danube to Moesia, which was thence called Dacia Aureliani. Hated for his severity, which in a soldier so easily degenerates into cruelty, he was murdered in Illyria at the instigation of his private secretary, Mnestheus.

274.

275.

Flav. Vopisci divus Aurelianus in Script. Hist. Aug.

Palmyra, situated in the Syrian desert, opulent from Indian commerce, was one of the most ancient cities and had been a Roman colony, since the reign of Trajan. Under Gallienus, Odenatus the husband of Zenobia, distinguished himself so highly by his victories over the Persians, that Gallienus named him his colleague on the throne. He was murdered by his cousin Maecius 267. Zenobia now administered the government, without however being recognized in Rome, in behalf of her sons Vabalathus, Herennianus, and Timolaus, and under Claudius she made the acquisition of Egypt. Aurelian defeated her first at Antioch and Emesa, soon after which, he conquered Palmyra, which, rebelling soon after, was destroyed by him, but is still magnificent in its ruins.

The Ruins of Palmyra by Rob. Wood. Lond. 1753, and his Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis. Lond. 1757, give a clear view of the splendor and greatness of these cities.

14. An interregnum of six months followed the death of Aurelian, till the senate at the repeated request of the army, ventured to fill the throne. But M. Claudius Tacitus, who next followed, the most worthy of the senators, was already seventy five years old, and died about six months after, on an expedition against

275.

25th

Sept.

to 276.

April.

the Goths. M. Aurelius Probus was now raised to the throne by the army in Syria, and Florianus the mother of Tacitus, already recognized as emperor in Rome, was murdered by his people.

Flav. Vopisci Tacitus ; Ejusd. Florianus in Script. Hist. Aug.

276. 15. The six years' reign of Probus was
 April. filled with wars. He drove back the Ger-
 to 277. mans from the countries along the Rhine
 and Danube, defended the frontiers by a walled
 278. rampart from Ratisbon on the Danube to
 the Rhine, and compelled the Persians to sue
 for peace. Still the many cities which he repair-
 ed and peopled with those whom he had taken
 captive in war, and the vineyards which he caus-
 ed his soldiers to plant on the Rhine, show that
 he was not without a taste for the arts of peace.
 But this policy could not be the policy of the le-
 282. gions. After his murder by the soldiers, M.
 Aug. Aurelius Carus was proclaimed by them em-
 peror, who raised to Caesars, his sons, of very dif-
 ferent characters, M. Aurel. Carinus, one of the
 most abject of men, and the mild M. Aur. Nume-
 rianus, whose character had been formed by study.
 He defeated the Goths and made a campaign
 against the Persians, but died soon after, struck,
 283. it was said, by lightning; and Numerianus
 Aug. was soon murdered by his own father-in-law,
 283. Arrius Aper, the praefectus praetorio.

Flav. Vopisci Probus Imp. Ejusd. Carus, Numerianus
 et Carinus, in Script. Hist. Aug.

16. If this period exhibits an image of the most
 complete military despotism, it is incontestable,

that this arose from the entire separation of the civil and military classes, from the introduction of standing armies, and from the extinction of all national spirit among the people. The legions decided, because the people were defenceless. And it was with them alone, far from the luxury of the capitol, and engaged in almost continual war with the barbarians, that some residue of the ancient Roman spirit was preserved. The appointing of their generals emperors, was the natural result, not only of the uncertainty of succession, which was not to be fixed by mere regulations, but frequently also of necessity, when they were forced to it, on the field, by the pressure of circumstances. Thus a series of distinguished generals ascended the throne; and what could an Augustus have done then, who was not a general? The rapid change of rulers must have rendered any permanent reform impossible; and even the best of them could do but little for the interior, compelled, as they were, to spend their whole strength in protecting the frontiers, and in combatting the usurpers, who, if we except the ceremonial of the senate's approbation, possessed in fact, equal right with them.

17. The decline must have been the greater, since in these sad times, luxury was carried to a most incredible excess, both in private life, in display and luxurious effeminacy, and in public, as is seen in the amusements of the amphitheatre and circus, by which not only every new prince, but every new magistrate had to purchase the favor of the populace. Thus even what remained of

the free constitution promoted the general corruption. What enjoyments were left under the rod of despotism but those of gross sensuality, among the gratifications of which, the intellectual pleasures of the theatre (mimes and pantomimes) of the orator and poet, were reckoned?

18. But during this general corruption, a reform of an entirely different nature was prepared by the gradual propagation of the Christian religion, which, by the end of this period, in spite of frequent persecutions, had found access into all the provinces and orders, and promised soon to become the prevailing religion. To make a correct estimate of this reform, we must regard it as the vehicle of culture to the rude nations, who were now rising into importance, rather than the means for the moral amelioration of the Roman world. In a political view, it was most important by the Hierarchy, the foundation of which was already laid among its professors. By this it afterwards became the religion of the state; and however much the ancient Roman religion had been so, it was properly adapted to the republic only, and by no means to the present monarchy. Although its fall must have been attended by some commotions, the throne lost in it no such support, as it afterwards found in the hierarchy.

The extension of the Christian religion was advanced both by the scattering of the Jews, and more especially by the persecutions, which, since the reign of Nero, had been renewed from time to time. These persecutions were principally caused by the social constitution of the Christians, as a sect dangerous for the state, to which Rome, with all

her toleration for the religion of nations, was far from indifferent; but they only gave life to enthusiasm. If, at the end of this period, but a small portion of the inhabitants of the Roman empire, acknowledged themselves of this persuasion, it had on the other hand its adherents in all the provinces.

Geschichte der Christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschafts-Verfassung von D. G. J. Planck. 4 parts. 1800. The first part of this excellent work belongs here.

THIRD SECTION.

From Diocletian to the fall of the Roman Empire in the West. A. D. 284—476.

It now becomes an important question to the historian, whether his authorities are Heathen or Christian. Among the former, we find Zosimus, the imitator of Polybius, who described the fall of the Roman state as Polybius had done its rise. Of his *Historiae*, only five and a half books down to Gratian A. D. 410, are extant. He was a violent enemy of the Christians, but one of the best historians of this time. *Ammiani Marcellini historiarum* l. XIV—XXXI. from 353 A. D. to 378. The first thirteen books have perished. A Christian perhaps, but no flatterer; and highly instructive, notwithstanding his often tedious prolixity. Besides the epitomists mentioned page 450, we must note here, *Pauli Orosii Hist.* l. VII. and the *Annales Zonarae*. The *Panegyrici veteres* from Diocletian down to Theodosius must be used with caution.—But the writers of church history now become of great importance for political history; Eusebius in his *Hist. eccles.* l. X. and his *Vita Constantini* M. l. V. as well as those who continued his history, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomenus, and Evagrius; although from their partiality to the Christian emperors, they belong to the class of pane-

gyrists rather than historians.—To these we must add another leading source, the constitutions of the emperors, which have been preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Justinianus*, from Constantine the Great.

Besides the works quoted above (see page 423, 450), the historians of the Byzantine empire here become important.

Histoire du bas Empire, en commençant de Constantin le Grand par Mr. le Beau, continuée par Mr. Ameilhon. Paris. 1779. 26 Voll. 8vo. The seven first belong here.

Histoire du bas Empire depuis Constantin jusqu' à la prise de Constantinople en 1453, par Carentin Royou. Paris. 1803. 4 Voll. 8vo. A valuable cursory view, although without deep investigation.

284.
17th
Sept.
to 305.
1st
May. 1. With C. Valerius Diocletianus (aged 39—60 years) who was proclaimed Augustus by the army in Chalcedon, after the murder of Numerianus, a new division begins in the history of Rome. The period of military despotism is succeeded by the period of partitions. After the defeat and death of Carinus, the yet remaining Caesar, in Upper
285. Maesia, Diocletian appointed as his colleague, M. Valerianus Maximianus Herculus, a
286. rough warrior, and his former fellow general. Herculus combats the Alemanni and Burgundi, along the banks of the Rhine, while Diocletian is resisting the Persians in Asia. But the two Augusti soon believed themselves unequal to the barbarians, assailing them on all sides, since
- 288 to 293. Carausius in Britain at the same time usurped and maintained the imperial title; they therefore each of them appointed a Caesar, Diocletian, C. Galerius, Maximianus, Flavius
292. Constantius Chlorus, who had both distin-

guished themselves as generals, then the only road to advancement. The empire was now divided between these four rulers, so that each obtained certain provinces to administer and defend, without however injuring the unity of the empire as a whole, or destroying the dependence in which the Caesar was to stand to the Augustus, as his subordinate colleague and future successor.

By the division of 292 Diocletian obtained the Eastern provinces; Galerius Thrace and the countries along the Danube, (Illyricum); Maximian Italy, Africa and the islands; and Constantius the Western provinces, Gaul, Spain, Britain and Mauretania.

2. This new system must have had a very perceptible reaction on the spirit of the administration. It was now both in fact and form in the hands of the rulers. Their continual absence from Rome dissolved the moral obligations, which the authority of the senate, and the name, not yet entirely extinct, of republic, had imposed upon them. Diocletian formally took the diadem; and with the ornament of the East, he drew to his court oriental luxury. The foundation of the building was laid, which Constantine the Great was to continue.

3. The consequences of this new system must have pressed severely upon the provinces, in as far as they now had to support four princes with their courts and as many armies. But notwithstanding the loud complaints of the oppressions it occasioned, it was perhaps the only way to avert the entire subversion of the edifice. And true it is, that not only the usurpers Allectus

in Britain, (who had murdered Carausius 293),
 293. Julian in Africa, and Achilleus in Egypt were
 overthrown, but the boundaries also were
 296. better defended and even extended as far as
 297. the Tigris by the victories of Galerius over
 the Persians.—Unhappily it was to be seen in sad
 perspective, that harmony could not be of long
 duration among the numerous rulers, and with the
 wavering relation of the Caesars to the Augusti.

4. Diocletian voluntarily abdicates his dignity,
 influenced perhaps by the rising consequence and
 arrogant pretensions of Galerius, the Caesar, and
 compels his colleague Maximian to do the
 305. same. The two Caesars, Constantius and
 Galerius, are appointed Augusti, and change the
 division, so that the former obtained all the West-
 ern countries, of which he voluntarily resigned
 Italy and Africa to Galerius, who obtained all the
 305 to others. In the same year, the latter appointed
 307. Caesars, Flavius Severus, on whom he con-
 305 to ferred Italy and Africa—and C. Galer. Maxi-
 313. minus, to whom he granted the administration
 of the Asiatic provinces. But they ruled in a very
 different spirit. Galerius was as universally hated
 for his cruelty and extravagance, as Constantius
 was loved for his clemency and disinterestedness.
 But Constantius died soon after at Eborac-
 306. um, leaving his territories to his son Con-
 stantine, who was immediately proclaimed empe-
 ror by the legions, although Galerius refused to
 recognize him as any thing more than Caesar.

5. Constantine, who afterwards received the surname of Great, (aged 33—64 years) thus attained to the government, which at first however embraced only Britain, Spain and Gaul. By a series of violence and war for seventeen years, he laid open the road to the sole dominion of the whole empire. Quarrels sprang up between the rulers, and besides them he was obliged to make war upon powerful usurpers, who appeared upon the scene.

306.
25th
July.
to 337.
22d
May.

323.

The history of the first seven years of Constantine 306—313 is very intricate; during the subsequent period of his reign, he had but one rival to contend with, 314—323. At his accession, Galerius as Augustus was in possession of all the other provinces, of which he committed the Asiatic to the Caesar Maximinus, and Italy and Africa to the Caesar Severus, whom he now named Augustus. But the latter became so hated for his oppressive cruelty, that Maxentius, the son of the former emperor Maximianus, proclaimed himself Augustus in Rome (28th Oct. 306) and received his father as his colleague, so that the six rulers now were Galerius, Severus, Constantine, Maximinus, and the usurpers Maxentius and his father Maximian. But in 307, Severus, deserted by his troops when he wished to make war upon Maxentius, and having surrendered to Maximian, was put to death at his order. In his stead, C. Val. Licinius was nominated Augustus by his friend Galerius, and Maximinus soon after received the same dignity from his army in Asia. Meanwhile, Maximian, after having attempted to displace his own son, fled to Constantine, who had crossed over to Gaul, and defeated the Franks there 306. Maximian, having conspired to murder Constantine, was put to death at his order 310, although Constantine had married his daughter Fausta. Galerius, dying soon after 311 of the consequences of his excesses, Constantine, Licinius, and

the usurper Maxentius, were the remaining claimants to the imperial purple. But the latter was defeated and killed on the 28th Oct. 312 by Constantine, before the gates of Rome, and by this Constantine became master of Italy and the capital. A war arising at the same time between Maximinus and Licinius, the former was defeated at Adrianople 313, and took his own life. A war broke out 314 between the two remaining emperors, Constantine and Licinius, but was laid aside in 314 by a peace, in which Constantine acquired all the southern lands of the Danube with the exception of Thrace and Moesia Minor. The war was renewed 322 and terminated by a decisive battle in Bithynia 323, with the overthrow of Licinius, whom Constantine put to death 324.

6. Various as opinions are respecting the reign of Constantine the Great, the result of it is very evident. If on the one hand he annihilated military despotism, he established on the other, remotely if not fully, the despotism of the court, and likewise the power of the hierarchy. Already, during the expedition against Maxentius, 311. Constantine decided for the Christian religion. While by this he acquired a powerful party in all the provinces, he weakened in an equal degree the power of his colleagues or rivals; and thus took the surest way for the attainment of his object of universal dominion. This change must have soon entered deeply into the whole system of government, as he found an excellent support in the already existing hierarchy; and while he decided in common with this body, what was orthodox doctrine and what not, he introduced a religious oppression, such as hitherto had been unknown.

In an age, when religious parties must almost necessarily have become political parties, we ought by no means to judge of the importance of a sect by the importance of its fundamental principles. The Arian controversies which arose at that time by means of the council at Nicaea 325, offered Constantine the opportunity he desired, of exercising his share of influence on religious legislation.

7. The removal of the royal residence 330.
from Rome to Constantinople was connected with the change of religion, for a city that was almost heathen, was no place for a Christian court. Still the necessity of protecting the frontiers against the Goths and Persians, was a strong motive. At any rate, the removal of the royal residence became the principal means of the establishment of the despotism of the court; but if we seek in it a cause of the fall of the empire, we must recollect that despotism itself was almost the only remaining prop of an empire, which had already sunk as deep, as the Roman at that time.

The transfer of the imperial seat had been previously prepared from the time of Diocletian by the partition of the empire, for the natural result of it was, that the Augusti and Caesars, when they were not as usual, with their armies, dwelt in different cities. Diocletian's residence was at Nicomedia, that of Maximian at Mediolanum, and even Constantine spent but a small part of his time in Rome. Nothing attached them to these new residences; and the authority of the Roman senate must therefore have declined of itself, subsequently to the time of Diocletian, although the body itself existed till after Constantine.

8. We must not be astonished, therefore, that such an entire change of the whole form of the constitution resulted from this transfer, that in a

short time we see but few traces of the former state. There was an entirely different division of the empire, by which, although it proceeded from the former divisions, a complete change was produced in the division and administration of the provinces.—The court, with the exception of polygamy, adopted in all respects, the form of an oriental court. And a great change in the military affairs was effected by the full separation of the military and civil power, which had been hitherto exercised by the *praefecti praetorio*, who now became chief governors, and had under them, others of lower rank.

By the new division the whole empire was divided into four prefectures, each prefecture had its diocese and each diocese its provinces. The prefectures were : I. *Praefectura Orientis*, containing five dioceses, 1. *Orientis*. 2. *Aegypti*. 3. *Asiae*. 4. *Ponti*. 5. *Thraciae*, which altogether comprehended 48 provinces, embracing all the Asiatic countries, Egypt, and the contiguous Lybia and Thrace. II. *Praefectura Illyriæ*, containing two dioceses, 1. *Macedoniae*. 2. *Daciae*, divided into 11 provinces, embracing Moesia, Macedonia, Greece and Crete. III. *Praefectura Italiae*, containing three dioceses, 1. *Italiae*. 2. *Illyrici*. 3. *Africae*, and 29 provinces, comprehending Italy, the countries on the southern part of the Danube as far as the boundaries of Moesia, the islands Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, together with the African provinces, counted from the Syrtis. IV. *Praefectura Galliarum*, containing three dioceses, 1. *Galliae*. 2. *Hispaniae*. 3. *Britanniae*, and 28 provinces, including Spain and the Balearian islands, Gaul, Helvetia and Britain.—Each of the prefectures was governed by a *praefectus praetorio*, who was nothing more than a civil governor, and had under him the *vicarii* in the dioceses, and *rectores provinciarum* of various rank and title.

They were called proconsules, praesides, etc. Besides these, both Rome and Constantinople, which stood under none of the four praefecti, each had its praefectus.

The chief officers of the state and court (*S. cubiculi*) at this time were : the *praepositus S. cubiculi* (chamberlain), under whom all the *comites palatii* and *cubicularii* stood in four divisions, in subsequent periods, frequently eunuchs of great influence ; the *magister officiorum* (chancellor, minister of the interior); the *comes sacrarum largitionum* (minister of the treasury) ; the *quaestor* (organ of the emperor in legislation ; minister of justice and secretary of state) ; the *comes rei privatae principis* (minister of the treasury of the crown) ; the two *comites domesticorum* (captains of the body guard), each of which was at the head of his company (*scholae*). The number of the officers of state and court continued to increase. If forms, rank and title could constitute public happiness, how happy would the Roman empire then have been !

The troops were commanded by the *magistri peditum* and the *magistri equitum*, who were subordinate to the *magister utriusque militiae*. The inferior commanders were called *comites* and *duces*. The troops were very much reduced by Constantine ; and great changes were made in the arrangement of them ; but these were followed by no results so important as those occasioned by the increasing number of barbarians who were taken in pay.

Notitia dignitatum utriusque Imperii c. not. Pancirolli in Graev. Thes. Ant. R. Voll. VII.

9. It may readily be expected, that these important changes should react on the system of taxation. Besides the ancient taxes, new ones were imposed or the former altered, which were sometimes rendered doubly oppressive by the manner of their collection. Among these were *a.* the ground tax, which was levied annually, *Indictio*.

b. the tax on trades, *aurum lustrale*. *c.* the compulsory tax, which grew out of a *don gratuit*, *aurum coronarium*. To this it is to be added that the municipal taxes devolved entirely on the citizens, and especially on their leaders (*decuriones*), which offices the rich were obliged to administer, since the property of the city was for the most part expended by Constantine on the endowment of churches and the clergy.

a. The ground tax or *indictio*, which was fully regulated if not first introduced under Constantine, was levied according to an exact assessment on all the public lands. Its amount was annually prescribed (*indicebatur*) by the emperor, and assigned by the governors of the provinces and the *decurions*; an arbitrary standard (*caput*) being taken as a criterion. As the assessment was probably reviewed every fifteen years, thus arose the cycle of *indictiones* of fifteen years, which became the common era, beginning from the 1st Sept. 312. This tax was imposed also on all proprietors. *b.* The tax on trades; it was levied on nearly all kinds of trades. It must finally have been imposed every four years, thence the name of *aurum lustrale*. *c.* The *aurum coronarium* originated in the custom of presenting the emperor with golden crowns on every occasion; for which at last the value outright was demanded. All the cities of importance had to pay it.

10. The more rapid extension of the christian religion, natural in itself, was promoted yet more by the exertions of the court, since this necessarily was the object of its policy. Constantine already ventured to lay an interdict on sacrifices, and to close the temples; and under his successors, these prohibitions degenerated but too soon into excesses of violent destruction.

Histoire de Constantin le Grand par le R. P. Bern. de Varenne. Paris. 1778. 4to.

Vita di Constantino il Grande dell' Abb. Fr. Gusta. Fuligno. 1786. Both of them, especially the former, are written in a tone of eulogy. The latest and by far the best is :

Leben Constantin des Grossen von J. C. F. Manso. Bresl. 1817. With some very instructive appendices, discussing single points.

11. The three Caesars and sons of Constantine the Great, Constantine (337—340), Constantius (337—361), and Constans (337—350), formed by a careful education, but as similar in their vices as in their names, divided the empire after the death of their father ; but their insatiable desire of countries, which neither of them knew how to govern, filled the next twelve years with one continual series of wars, till Constantius became at last master of the whole. By the murder of the greater number of his relations, he insured to himself the throne.

In the division Constantine obtained the *praefectura Galliarum* ; Constans the *praefectura Italiae* and *Illyrici* ; and Constantius the *praefectura Orientis*. Constantine demanding in addition Italy and Africa, he attacked Constans in 340, but lost his life by it, so that Constans became master of the Western countries. So wretchedly did he govern, that Magnentius, the general in Gaul, proclaimed himself emperor, and caused Constans, who took to flight, to be murdered 350. A war with the yet remaining Constantius, who had been employed in the mean while, in the East, was now inevitable, and broke out in 351. The tyrant was beaten first at Mursa in Pannonia 351, and having retreated to Gaul, a second time in that country 353, soon after which he put himself to death with his family.

12. But as Constantius, debased in luxury, surrounded and governed by eunuchs, was in need of assistance, he liberated the prisoner of state,

his cousin Constantius Gallus, whose father

351. he had formerly put to death, appointed him Caesar, and despatched him to the East against the Persians. But in a short time, he was rendered so dangerous by his arrogance, which was inflamed yet more by his wife Constantina, that

354. Constantius recalled him and had him murdered in Istria on his return. In his stead,

his younger brother Fl. Julianus, was named Cae-

355. sar, from whom the suspicious Constantius

6 Nov. believed he had the least to fear, and the defence of the borders along the Rhine was committed to him. Of this trust he so well acquitted

356 to himself that although called from books to

359. arms, he not only protected with success against the Germans, but also penetrated far into

Germany. Constantius, after the defeat of his generals by the Persians, who demanded a resti-

359. tution of the lands they had resigned, him-

self made an expedition against them, and wished to gain over by degrees the troops of Ju-

lianus, who was impelled by this to accept

361. the diadem, offered him by his soldiers. On

his march along the Danube against Constantius, he received information of the death of the latter in Asia.

360. 13. Fl. Julianus (Apostata, aged 29—32

M'ch. years) the last and most talented prince of

to 363. the house of Constantine, whose character

25th had been formed by misfortune and study,

June.

was not without failings, though without vices. He began with a reform of the luxurious court. In the view of the historian, his disavowal of the religion which then prevailed, and the gradual suppression of which appeared to be his object, is a political fault, of which he must have felt the consequences severely, had his reign been longer. But wishing to put an end to the war against the Persians, and having penetrated beyond the Tigris, he there lost his life in battle, after a reign of three years.

Ueber Kayser Julianus und sein Zeitalter. Ein historisches Gemählde von August Neander. Leipzig. 1812.

14. Fl. Jovianus was immediately proclaimed emperor by the army, (aged 33 years) who restored, in a peace which he concluded with the Persians, all the conquests that had been made since 297. Eight months after he died of sickness, when the army proclaimed Fl. Valentinianus, Augustus at Nicaea; who shortly after adopted his brother Valens as his colleague and divided the empire with him, resigning to Valens the praefectura Orientis, while he kept the others for himself.

363.
25th
June.
to 364.
24th
Feb.

15. The reign of Valentinian I. in the West, who in 367 appointed as his associate in the empire, his son Gratian (aged 8 years), is marked, notwithstanding his general cruelty, by the system of toleration, which he practised in religious affairs. In other respects, it exhibits an almost uninterrupted contest against the German nations, who had recovered from their defeat under Julian. His first wars were on the

364.
26th
Feb.
to 375.
17th
Nov.

Rhine, against the Franks, Saxons and Alemanni; and afterwards on the Danube against the Quadi etc., where he died in battle at Guntz in Hungary.

264 to 378. 16. His brother Valens (aged 38—52 years) was engaged meanwhile in the East, in quelling an important rebellion excited by a certain Procopius, who took advantage of the discontent produced in the East by the oppressions of Valens, who professed the Arian tenets, yet more than in the West by those of his brother. His war against the Persians was terminated by a truce; but about the end of his reign, the event occurred, by which the great popular migration, and thence the overthrow of the Roman empire was in reality occasioned, the transition of the Huns into Europe. The nearest consequence of it was, the reception of the greater part of the Western Goths into the Roman empire; whence a war arose, which cost Valens his life.

The Huns, a nomadic nation of Asia, were a branch of the great Mogolian race. When they advanced beyond the Don in 375, the country from that river to the Theis, was held by the Goths, who were divided into Ostrogoths, and Visigoths, separated by the Dnieper. The Ostrogoths, expelled from their residences, fell upon the Visigoths, who asked of Valens to be received into the Roman empire; and, with the exception of the Vandals, who had been settled in Pannonia since the time of Constantine the Great, they were the first barbarian nation, which obtained a residence in the Roman territory. But they were forced to rebel by the shameful oppression of the Roman governors; and when Valens proceeded against them, he not only met with a severe defeat at Adrianople 378, but also lost his life.

17. In the meanwhile Valentinian I. was ^{375 to} succeeded in the West by his son Gratian, ^{383.} (aged 16—24 years), who immediately adopted his brother Valentinian II. (aged 5—21 years), as his colleague, and conferred upon him, ^{375 to} although under his own inspection, the prae- ^{392.}fectura Italiae and Illyrici. Gratian was marching to the assistance of Valens, his uncle, against the Goths, when he received on the way information of his defeat and death. The East now threatened to become the prey of the Goths, when he raised to the imperial purple, Theodosius, a Spaniard, who had distinguished himself as a warrior, and conferred upon him the praefectura Orientis and Illyrici.

18. But the indolent reign of Gratian, in the West excited to rebellion Maximus, the commander in Britain, who crossed over to Gaul, and received so strong a reinforcement from the Gallic legions ^{383.} which he gained, that Gratian fled before him, but was murdered at Lyons by those sent in pursuit. Maximus thus saw himself in possession of the whole praefectura Galliarum; and by the promise, that he would not molest the young Valentinian II. in Italy, he prevailed upon Theodosius to acknowledge him as emperor. But having broken his stipulation, and invaded Italy, he was defeated in Pannonia by Theodosius, thrown into prison, and shortly after executed; when Valentinian ^{388.} II., a youth of whom great hopes were entertained, again became master of the whole West. But he was soon displaced by Arbogastus, his magister militum, who had been offended by

him, and who now raised to the throne his friend
 394. Eugenius the *magister officiorum*, whom
 Theodosius, so far from acknowledging, at-
 tacked and took captive. The consequence of
 this was, that Theodosius became master of the
 whole empire, although he died the following year.

19. The energetic reign of Theodosius
 379. the Great in the East, (aged 34—50 years),
 19th. was devoted no less to religious than politi-
 Jan. cal objects. By the wisdom, with which in its
 to 395. beginning he had broken the power of the
 17th. victorious Goths, (who preserved however their
 Jan. residence in the provinces along the Danube), he
 had immediately acquired a great influence which
 he was able to maintain by his serious and reso-
 lute character ; but violent commotions were
 caused by the blind zeal, with which he opposed
 Arianism, then prevalent in the East, and made the
 orthodox belief the prevailing one, as also by the
 persecutions he exercised against the heathens and
 their temples. The exertions he made to protect
 the frontiers of the empire, which lost not a pro-
 vince during his life, required an increase of taxes,
 which, although they were oppressive, ought hardly
 to be laid to the charge of the prince. In an
 empire, of itself so debilitated, and yet compelled
 to continual resistance, every active government
 must have been oppressive, and never had the in-
 ternal depopulation of the empire rendered the
 dangerous expedient of receiving barbarians into
 Roman pay,—a natural result of which was a change
 in the arms and tactics of the Roman armies,
 —as necessary, as during this reign.

P. Erasm. Müller *de genio saeculi Theodosiani*. Havniae. 1798. 2 Voll. A comprehensive, very learned, and in every respect excellent sketch of the deep corruption of the Roman world at that time.

20. Theodosius left behind him two sons, between whom he divided the empire. These two parts were still to form one state; an idea, which was prevalent in subsequent times, and was productive of important consequences, even to a late period in the middle ages; but from this time, they were never reunited under one prince. Arcadius, the elder son, (aged 18—31 years) ^{395 to 403.} obtained the Eastern empire, consisting of the praefectura Orientis and Illyrici, under the guardianship of Rufinus, the Gaul: The Western, or the praefectura Galliarum and Italiae was ^{395 to 423.} assigned to Honorius the younger, (aged 11—39 years), under the guardianship of Stilico, the Vandal.

21. The western empire, to the history of which we now confine ourselves, suffered already under Honorius such convulsions, that its near fall was to be foreseen. The intrigues of Stilico, in order to acquire the administration of the whole empire, opened the road to the barbarians into its interior; and they must have been doubly formidable, since fate gave them at that very time, a greater leader than they had ever before possessed. Alaric, the king of the Visigoths, with his subjects already settled in the empire, became master of Rome, and filled the throne; on fortuitous circumstances alone it depended, that it was not entirely overturned by him.

Honorius, and yet more Arcadius, belonged to that class of men who are never of age ; their favorites and ministers therefore governed as they pleased. Stilico, who made Honorius his son-in-law, was not destitute of ability to govern ; and his exertions to obtain the administration of the whole empire, proceeded perhaps from the conviction, that thus only he could act with effect. But the road of intrigue which he adopted, never conducted him to this object, when after the murder of Rufinus 395, he found a yet more violent opponent in his successor, the eunuch Eutropius. Stilico having withdrawn the Roman troops from Gaul 400, in order to oppose Alaric, this country was overwhelmed by the German nations, the Vandals, Alani and Suevi, who penetrated from thence farther into Spain ; but he yet protected Italy by the victories he gained 403 over Alaric at Verona, and 405 at Florence over Radagaisus, who made an invasion with other German tribes. But when Stilico, after having entered into a secret combination with Alaric, in order to tear the eastern part of Illyricum from the oriental empire, was, by the cabals of the new favorite Olympius, who took advantage of the weakness of Honorius, and the jealousy existing between the Roman and foreign soldiers, accused of aspiring to the throne, deprived of power and executed on the 23d of August 408, Rome lost the only general, who was able to be her protector. Alaric again invaded Italy 408, and Rome, besieged by him, had to purchase peace ; but the conditions not being fulfilled, Alaric advanced again before Rome 409, became master of the city, and instead of Honorius, who had shut himself up in Ravenna, named Attalus, the *præfectus urbi*, Augustus. But in 410, he deprived him of the diadem, and took possession of Rome by force, which was sacked. Wishing to make the acquisition of Sicily and Africa also, he died in the South of Italy. Adolphus, his brother-in-law and successor, withdrew 412 with his Goths from Italy, now completely exhausted, proceeded to Gaul, and

thence to Spain, where he founded the kingdom of the Visigoths. He carried with him Placidia, the sister of Honorius, either as hostage or captive, whom he married 414 in Gaul. In the meanwhile, a usurper, Constantine had started up in Britain and Gaul, who was defeated and executed in 411 by Constantius, a general of Honorius. Upon this Constantius, Honorius not only bestowed 417 his sister Placidia, who in the meantime had become a widow, and had been returned, but he also named him Augustus 421, although he died two months after. Placidia now exercised indeed a considerable interest in the government, but proceeded to Constantinople 423, where she remained till the death of Honorius.

Fl. Stilico, ein Wallenstein der Vorwelt, von Chr. Fr. Schulze. 1805. Not written, for the sake of the comparison.

22. Thus already under Honorius, the greater part of Spain and a part of Gaul were torn from the Roman empire. After his death, Johannes, the private secretary, first acquired the 423. government. But he was defeated by Theodosius II. the emperor of the East, and Valentinian III. the nephew of Honorius, yet a 425. minor, (aged 6—36 years) was raised to the 425 to 455. throne, under the guardianship of his mother, Placidia (†450). During his unhappy reign, almost all the provinces out of Italy were torn from the Western empire. The fault of this is to be imputed to the administration of his mother, and subsequently to his own incapacity, no less than to those violent commotions, which agitated so vehemently the nations of Europe.

Britain had already been emancipated 427 by the Romans. In Africa, Bonifacius the governor was forced to rebel, by the artifices of the general Aëtius; and after he

had called to his assistance the Vandals from Spain, under Geiserich, they put themselves in possession of the country 429—439, and Valentinian was obliged 435 to make a formal resignation of the conquest. Valentinian III. purchased his wife, the Grecian princess Eudoxia 437, by renouncing the western part of Illyricum (Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Noricum), so that Rhaetia and Vindelicia alone remained of the countries along the southern portion of the Danube, belonging to the *praefectura Italiae*. In the South Eastern part of Gaul, the kingdom of the Burgundians had been formed since the year 435, (which, besides the South East of France as far as the Rhone and Saone, comprehended also Switzerland and Savoy). The South Western part was under the sway of the Visigoths; and in those countries alone north of the Loire, did Roman governors yet rule; Syagrius, the last of them, survived the fall of the empire itself. He was defeated first in 486, in the battle at Soissons by Clodovicus, king of the Franks.

23. But while the Occidental empire fell asunder almost of itself, a new storm occurred among the nations, which threatened to swallow all of Western Europe. The tribes of the Hunni now ruling in the lands, formerly belonging to the Goths, between the Don and the Theis, and as far as the Volga, had united themselves, since 444, under one common chief Attala, who, thus and by his personal superiority as a warrior and ruler, became the most powerful prince of his age. While he was averted from the Eastern empire by an annual tribute, he attacked with an immense force the western countries, but at Chalons
450. (in *campis Catalaunicis*), he was forced to return by the combined strength of the Romans,

under Aëtius and the Visigoths. He nevertheless invaded Italy, the following year, 451. where he kept up a correspondence with the abandoned Honoria, the sister of Valentinian. He was impelled to return for reasons that are doubtful, and died in a short time. The wretched Valentinian soon after deprived the Roman empire of its best general, by putting Aëtius to death, from distrust. But he soon 453. experienced the punishment of his extravagance, for he was murdered by a conspiracy, formed against him by Petronius Maximus, whose 454. wife he had dishonored, and some friends of Aëtius. 455.

24. The twenty years, which elapsed between the murder of Valentinian III. and the entire extinction of the Roman empire in the West, present an almost uninterrupted succession of internal revolutions, while during them no less than nine rulers followed each other, whose change is the least important for this period. Of far more importance than they for the Roman empire, was Genserich, the king of the Vandals, who, master of the Mediterranean and Sicily by his naval force, was able to invade Italy according to his pleasure, and even to take Rome; and likewise of great importance in Italy itself was Ricimer, the German, who, as general of the foreign troops in the Roman pay, caused a series of emperors to reign under his name. It was in his power to put an end to the series of the Augusti, but accidental reasons determined, that this renown should be re-

476. served for his successor Odoacer, four years after his death.

After the murder of Valentinian, Maximus was proclaimed emperor ; but compelling Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian, to a marriage with himself, she called Genserich from Africa, who took and sacked the city, when Maximus perished 455, after a reign of three months. M. Avitus succeeded him, who received the crown at Arles, but was dethroned 456 by Ricimer, who in the meantime had beaten the fleet of the Vandals. Ricimer now bestowed the throne first on Jul. Majorianus, 1st April 457, whom he displaced 461, because he had gained too great distinction in the wars against the Vandals, and appointed in his stead Libius Severus, who died 465, perhaps of poison. There followed an interregnum of two years, during which Ricimer reigned, though without the imperial title ; till Anthemius, a patrician of Constantinople, (which city had never renounced its claims to the right of appointing, or at least of confirming the appointment of the rulers of the occidental empire) was nominated emperor of the West (12th April 467) by Leo, with the consent of the powerful Ricimer. But quarrels having arisen between him and Ricimer, the former 469 withdrew to Mediolanum and began a war, in which he gained forcible possession of Rome 472, when Anthemius was murdered, whom Ricimer himself soon followed, (18th Aug. 472). After Anthemius, Anicius Olybrius, the son-in-law of Valentinian III. was proclaimed Augustus. But he dying three months after, (Oct. 472), Glycerius usurped the purple at Ravenna, without however being recognized in Constantinople. There, on the contrary, Julius Nepos was nominated Augustus, who displaced Glycerius 474, but was himself displaced 475 by his own general Orestes. He gave the diadem to his son Romulus Momyllus, who as the last in the series of the Augusti, bears the name of Augustulus. After the execution of Orestes in Ravenna, he was taken

prisoner by Odoacer, leader of the Germans in the Roman pay, and received from him a pension. Odoacer now remained master of Italy, till the Ostrogoths founded there a new empire under king Theodoric.

25. While the Roman empire in the West thus fell into ruins, the sister empire in the East, which appeared to be in a similar situation, not only continued, but even existed for the space of nearly a thousand more years, notwithstanding it suffered all the internal evils, which produce the ruin of a state, and was shaken by all the storms, which burst upon the nations during the middle ages. From the almost impregnable site of its capital alone, the fate of which is ever in such empires decisive of the whole, in connexion with the despotism, which not unfrequently remains the last support of fallen nations, may in some measure be explained a phenomenon, that has not its parallel in the history of the world.

ERRATA.

- Page 104, 1st line from top, for conspirators, read insurgents.
116, 19th line from top, for Linus, read Sinus.
142, in the margin, for 404, read 504.
228, 18th line from bottom, after have, insert only.
232, 5th line from top, for forest, read fortress.
241, 7th from bottom, for unfortunate, read fortunate.
448, 18th from top, for Lactus, read Laetus.

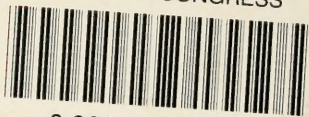
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